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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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30 January 1985

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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ANGOLA

UNITA CHARGED WITH INVOLVEMENT IN COUNTERFEITING

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 20 Nov 84 p 20

[Text] The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] last weekend abandoned a counterfeit kwanza manufacturing operation in Portugal, DIARIO DE LISBOA has learned. In addition to the multiplication in recent months of threats to the effect that, in the military sector, Luanda is among its next targets, the UNITA is also thought to be preparing a series of non-military operations to destabilize the country, including this manufacture of counterfeit Angolan paper currency, with which it planned to flood the country, working from areas in which it can maneuver easily.

With a view to the counterfeit kwanza operation, the UNITA signed a lease with a printing plant in the northern part of Portugal, with organizational facilities providing the conditions needed for counterfeiting Angolan currency. Insofar as DIARIO DE LISBOA could learn, the Portuguese police authorities were not aware of the purpose of the lease contract in question, nor did they have information at any time about the possible launching of such an operation in Portugal. They were also unaware of why the UNITA abandoned the operation, and whether it is effectively ended or simply "suspended."

5157
CSO: 3442/115

ANGOLA

DOS SANTOS ON DEFENSE COST, SWAPO, OTHER ISSUES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 21 Nov 84 pp 1,3

[Text of interview with Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, granted to CADERNOS DO TERCEIRO MUNDO in Rio de Janeiro and released in Brazil on Tuesday, 20 November, 1984]

[Text] Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party, recently granted an interview to the magazine CADERNOS DO TERCEIRO MUNDO, in which he gave an accounting of the achievements of the Angolan people in these 9 years of independence and discussed problems of the war which has been imposed on us by imperialism and its lackeys, as well as issues of cooperation with other countries and the situation on the African continent, particularly in southern Africa.

Of all the achievements, the president felt the greatest one was the preservation of the Angolan people's independence, under the leadership of its vanguard MPLA-Labor Party. He noted the state control of the principal sources of wealth, the gradual building of [an economy aimed at] meeting the basic needs of the popular masses and the important goals achieved in the areas of medical assistance and education.

These achievements, continued the chief of state, were owing to the high level of political awareness and the determination of the Angolan people to protect their conquests.

The president noted, however, that a country like ours, the victim of a war of aggression, encounters problems in achieving all its goals, because, in addition to the shortage of technical cadres, a large part of our financial resources is diverted to strengthen the country's defense capability.

Later, the chief of state answered questions pertaining to the withdrawal of the South African troops from the south of the country, the Namibian problem, Angola's adherence to the Lome international treaties, the counterrevolutionary activities of the puppet bands in the service of South Africa, and cooperation with the countries of Latin America. Finally, he expressed his views on a possible visit by the South African president to the nations of this continent, to which several African leaders have also declared their opposition.

Regarding reports circulated with intense concern in the international press, that UNITA bands are now also operating out of Zaire, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos said there had been various movements by Armed UNITA members in areas near the border with Zaire and some actions against locales situated close to the line that separates Angolan and Zairian territory, leading us to assume that such actions are being conducted with the consent of the central government of that country, with which Angola came to an agreement in 1978 that neither party would allow its territory to be used in armed action against the other.

Following is the text of the interview.

Question: This November, Angola celebrates the ninth anniversary of its independence. It has been a period of many struggles, many attacks, and has also been marked by political and revolutionary advances. How would you evaluate this historic period? What advances and achievements do you consider most significant and what problems and challenges face the young republic?

Answer: Our greatest achievement to date is the preservation of the independence and sovereignty of the Angolan people, under the leadership of their vanguard MPLA-Labor Party, despite the large-scale invasions, the acts of terrorism and sabotage, the occupation of part of our territory, the blackmail and pressures, the poisonous propaganda campaign against our people and other problems which the imperialists have created for us, in a vain attempt to destroy the Angolan revolution. This [success] is owing to the high level of political awareness and the determination of our people to defend their conquests.

Among these conquests, in addition to the preservation of political independence, we should point to the state control of the nation's major riches, the gradual building of an economy aimed at meeting the basic needs of the popular masses and the important goals achieved in the areas of medical assistance and education, both completely free; for example, we can say that, with regard to basic education alone, we now have over 2 million students and approximately 1 million illiterates have learned to read and write.

Naturally, a country like ours, victim of a war of aggression, encounters difficulties in meeting all its goals, because, in addition to the shortage of technical cadres, a large part of our financial resources is diverted to strengthening our defense capability.

Our armed forces have been notoriously successful in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary groups.

Enemy Cannot Win War of Subversion

Question: To what do you attribute this success?

Answer: Several factors contributed to the success of our defense and security forces in the battle against the armed bands in the service of south Africa. In August 1983, we launched a great popular mobilization campaign, with the slogan: "Let Us Organize the Armed Defense of the People, To Defend the Revolution." We improved the organization of the armed forces, strengthening the discipline and the military command at the various levels; we created regional

military councils as dynamizing organs which coordinate the command of political-military and economic-social activity at the local level; we changed the old concept of war and made a rapid effort to adapt to the new situation created by imperialism and its agents.

These factors increased the combat strength of our armed forces, and I believe that the enemy is beginning to be convinced that it is impossible to overthrow the legally constituted government in Angola by a subversive war abetted from abroad.

Question: What are the immediate economic goals of the MPLA Labor Party?

Answer: To solve the people's basic food problem and, at the same time, to create the conditions to change the capitalist production relations. In this regard, agriculture has been defined as the basis for the economic and social development; we have given priority to the recovery of farm production, both the agricultural and livestock sectors. I am referring to the gradual increase in the production of the small farmer, the herdsman or the peasant association member, through the provision of material, technical and financial support and improvement of the marketing system in rural areas, which makes it possible not only to solve food problems but also assures provision of some raw materials for the food and other light industries. Another phase of this development process is the creation of conditions to expand the cooperative movement in agriculture and livestock farming.

Question: Would you assess the program to strengthen the small agricultural units and the cottage industries? What part do they play today in the nation's production as a whole? What sectors are receiving the greatest incentives? Will there be some change in the program?

Answer: In the first years of independence, the family-peasant economy did not receive much attention, because we were concentrating on turning the large agricultural and livestock holdings which had been abandoned by the Portuguese colonists into state companies. In most cases, we opted for this solution because there was no alternative. Later, we learned from experience that because of the lack of technical cadres for large-scale mechanization, together with the shortage of administrative and management cadres, we could not make these companies profitable. Having arrived at this conclusion, the First Extraordinary Congress of the MPLA-Labor Party, in 1980, issued a directive to give special attention to the development of the rural family economy, which today accounts for 60 percent of the commercial production of food and meat for our people.

No Control over SWAPO

Question: The period has long since expired for the unilateral withdrawal of the South African forces which invaded Angola and apparently the evacuation has not been completed. Do you believe South Africa has violated the Lusaka accords? How does Angola view this? Do you also believe that dialogue is possible or are these understandings dead?

Answer: The Lusaka accord still stands. It is simply being carried out very slowly. It also appears that South Africa has no desire to renounce the Lusaka accords. We have said that the reasons offered by South Africa for the delay

in the withdrawal of its forces from Angolan territory are not valid or acceptable; there is actually a war in Namibia between South Africa and the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO), and it makes no sense to oblige Angola to exercise control over the SWAPO guerrillas. The People's Republic of Angola cannot control them inside Namibia.

We are not war apologists; we wish to help find a peaceful solution to the problem of Namibian independence. Undoubtedly, the first step in this regard should be a cease-fire agreement between South Africa and SWAPO, pursuant to UN Resolution 435/78.

The Namibian problem is not an Angolan problem. The administration of Namibia was formally turned over to a UN organ and hence it is not right to impose conditions on Angola for the resolution of an international problem. South Africa is, in fact, illegally occupying Namibia and SWAPO is internationally recognized as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. SWAPO is not a creation of the Government of Angola; it is an organization which acts in an independent and sovereign manner.

Within a constructive spirit, we cooperate with SWAPO, and we have maintained a certain dialogue with South Africa to arrive at a just solution to the Namibian conflict.

Question: If the other Front Line countries accepted a UN peace-keeping force to guarantee free elections in Namibia, would Angola take the same position?

Answer: We consider UN Security Council Resolution 435/78 to be the only solid foundation for a solution to the Namibian problem and that resolution clearly provides that the period of transition will proceed under the supervision of the UN forces. And this opinion has been voiced repeatedly in statements by the Front Line countries.

Lome Convention

Question: Does Angola intend to adhere formally to the new Lome Convention? What are the advantages and drawbacks of this association?

Answer: The Government of Angola participated in the discussion of the text of the new convention designated Lome-3, which should replace Lome-2. Angola's adherence to the Lome-3 Convention will depend on its content. Obviously, we are not interested in joining a convention that is against Angola's interests. This does not mean that Angola wants to isolate itself, but it is seeking a just economic and financial relationship with the European countries. We hope that the text of the new convention will meet our aspirations in this regard.

Question: Is there some plan to get together with the World Bank and the IMF?

Answer: We have studied the experience of the other so-called Third World countries which have relations with the World Bank and the IMF. We also want to study the internal mechanisms of these institutions.

Question: Will the Luanda government vote in favor of the participation of the SADR (Saharan Arab Democratic Republic) in the next OAU conference, even if this means another boycott by Morocco? In the understanding of your government, is there some possibility of a solution to the problem?

Answer: Angola is one of the African countries which recognized the SADR and thus we feel the solution to this problem must be based on OAU Resolution 104, according to which Morocco pledged to hold a referendum on self-determination before the next OAU summit meeting.

We doubt, however, that this referendum can still be held before the meeting of the African chiefs of state.

At that time, we will have no alternative but to censure those who do not respect the decisions of the OAU, and it seems to me that this will be the prevailing opinion within our organization, since it is reasonable and just.

Question: There are reports that Savimbi's group, UNITA, may now also be operating out of Zaire. Can you confirm these reports?

Answer: There have been various movements by armed UNITA members in areas close to the border with Zaire and some armed actions have been launched against locales situated near the line which separates Angola and Zaire, leading us to assume that these actions are being conducted with the consent of the central government of that country. Incidentally, Zaire reached an agreement with Angola in 1978 that neither party would allow the use of its territory for armed action against the other.

We certainly have used the usual diplomatic channels and we will continue to use them to resolve these situations, which are being reported with increasing concern in the international press.

Question: Have the UNITA attacks against the petroleum installations in Cabinda affected Angola's production of hydrocarbons?

Answer: There is no evidence that these attacks have been perpetrated by UNITA members, because that group does not operate in Cabinda Province. The sabotage caused some losses because it was necessary to shut down to repair the pipelines.

Question: Does Angola agree with the idea of placing the OAU's permanent headquarters in Addis Ababa?

Answer: Yes, the OAU permanent headquarters have always been in Addis Ababa. What we are trying to avoid now is the rotation of OAU summit meetings among several African countries, for practical and material reasons, since not all the countries have the facilities and means to host such large conferences. Clearly, it is more reasonable to hold all the OAU summit meetings at the headquarters, where these conditions fortunately have already been created.

Question: Relations between Angola and Portugal experienced some difficult moments a few months ago. Is the situation better or worse now?

Answer: It is stable.

Bilateral Relations

Question: Various Portuguese businessmen are associating with firms and organizations in such countries as the United States, England, Germany, Sweden and France to do business in African countries, in so-called "triangular operations." Does Angola believe this type of association should be encouraged? What are the advantages and disadvantages?

Answer: We prefer bilateral relationships.

Question: Angolan delegations have recently visited Latin American countries, especially Brazil. How do you feel about greater interchange with these areas?

Answer: There are good prospects for expanding economic cooperation and trade with Latin American countries. We have a large volume of trade with Brazil and growing cooperation in several areas. We have normal political relations and a climate of understanding and agreement which we would like to maintain and even develop.

We have a common official language, which facilitates contact between the two peoples. There are various cultural affinities and hence a great possibility of developing harmonious relations, based on respect for the sovereignty of each state and for its political options, and of broadening economic cooperation which will serve the development interests of the two countries. In this spirit, we are making an effort to maintain a regular exchange of delegations at various levels and we are pleased at the way the cultural and sports interchange is developing, as well.

Question: African leaders have made statements in opposition to a possible trip by President P.W. Botha to nations of the African continent. How does the Angolan Government view this apparent initiative by South Africa to break the diplomatic blockade which has been imposed against the Pretoria regime for several decades?

Answer: With this initiative, Pretoria is seeking to convince some countries that it has been making serious and substantive changes in its domestic policy, establishing a new constitution. Pretoria is aiming in this way to end the solidarity between the ANC and the African people. At the same time, it wants to encourage these countries to accept a solution to UN Security Council Resolution 435/78 that would exclude SWAPO's participation and enforce the so-called linkage policy.

Pretoria's diplomatic isolation must be maintained, because it is one form of pressure, among others, that tends to speed the adoption of a just solution to the problems of apartheid and Namibian independence.

ANGOLA

LEGITIMACY OF PORTUGUESE MILITARY ROLE IN ANGOLA ANALYZED

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 22 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Ribeiro Cardoso: "What Is the Lisbon Government Up To?"]

[Text] The government in Lisbon recently announced that an investigation would be launched into the activities of the Portuguese military personnel reported to be training SWAPO guerrilla fighters in Angola. On that occasion Admiral Rosa Coutinho and the Technical and Commercial Cooperative (COTECO) were mentioned.

The report caused surprise because the charge is senseless and preposterous. In Angola, however, the full dimension of its impact was felt in governmental and MPLA leadership circles. Once again Lisbon has acted under pressure from other capital cities which are showing ever greater concern for what may happen.

But, the reader will ask, what is it that will happen? Many things, I would respond. In the military sector and, consequently, at the negotiating table. And here is where the Portuguese military personnel come into it. There are in fact about 30 of them in Luanda, not to train SWAPO guerrilla fighters, but to cooperate with the Angolan government in training FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] commando battalions. These commando forces are specialists in antiguerrilla struggle and are trained along the same lines as the Portuguese commandoes of the colonial era in the technical sector, because there are other respects in which their training is very different.

Two of these battalions have already been operating with total success for some time. The UNITA says so. The third battalion will be operational before the end of November, and others will follow.

Change in the Situation

The situation in the military sector in Angola underwent a profound change beginning last December-January. And this is a change, obviously, which has gone unnoticed by the Western press.

The FAPLA had launched an offensive against the UNITA in the central-southern part of the territory shortly before that time. South African forces came to the aid of Savimbi's organization. Once again. Only while they did indeed

force the FAPLA to focus its attention and effort on the frontier zone with Namibia, the South Africans encountered an effective response, totally unexpected, for the first time. The Angolan antiaircraft defense system, which now has powerful and ultrasophisticated technical equipment, shot down a dozen planes from the south. Infiltrating South African military columns were repelled and suffered heavy losses. Cahama became a name inspiring pride in the history of the FAPLA. The young Angolan officers, recent graduates of military academies in friendly countries, eloquently demonstrated that much had changed. And South Africa, forced yet once again into a great war effort, and weeping now over its dead, saw that there was no military solution. And in the first months of 1984, they sat down at the negotiating table in Lusaka as they had never done before.

Efficiency

Meanwhile, the UNITA had changed tactics. It spread throughout the territory, avoiding contact with the FAPLA while at the same time successfully launching spectacular actions from which it could profit in terms of propaganda. Economic targets and the kidnapping of foreign cooperative workers and technicians became their main enemy goals. They reached Lunda-Sul, seized Czechoslovak technicians in Alto da Catumbela, and destroyed the electrical lines carrying power to Luanda.

But while it is true that the UNITA reaped dividends in terms of propaganda, it committed a tremendous error. The brigade which was drilled in the training fields in Namibia and throughout recent months has been advancing to the gates of Luanda, always avoiding contact with the FAPLA, has now been practically decimated. And here again the FAPLA commando battalions trained by Portuguese military technicians appear on the scene, having given proof of their efficiency in the field. In recent weeks, the Angolan government has introduced numerous captured UNITA soldiers, as well as a number of officers, to domestic and foreign journalists. And in addition to this, the FAPLA has announced numerous casualties inflicted on Savimbi's partisans. There is even talk in Luanda of the imminent capture of a high-ranking figure in the UNITA hierarchy--the commander of that brigade, which has now been duly located, and on which the military in Luanda want to "get their hands."

Complicated Puzzle

In this complicated puzzle which has been patiently developed in Angola and throughout southern Africa, another factor of great significance has emerged, but again without receiving proper attention from the Western press, which is "distracted" by other certainly more important issues.

I am speaking of the outcome of the talks which have been under way between officials in Luanda and leading figures in the FNLA and the COMIRA since 1979, within the framework of the policy of clemency announced by the MPLA.

It should not be regarded as accidental that this was the time chosen by Commander Tonta, one of the key military leaders of the FNLA in the early days, and the number one COMIRA man in the field, to surrender with 1500

armed men and 20,000 faithful civilian followers. And former prime minister in the Angolan transition government Johny Eduardo Pinock (the most important politician in the FNLA hierarchy, after Holden Roberto) surrendered too, publicly stating his readiness to participate, without any preconditions or ambitions, in the effort to rebuild the free and independent fatherland of Agostinho Neto. And the "arrival" of other outstanding figures in the FNLA, among them Val Neto, in Luanda is expected soon.

Those in the know say that all of these movements will have to be viewed overall. That is to say, we must not overlook the negotiations in progress between the South Africans and the Angolans, with the North Americans as an intermediary, of which, obviously, the Soviets and the Cubans are aware. These latter forces, as President Eduardo dos Santos has announced, may effect a partial withdrawal, provided the South Africans withdraw totally (it should not be forgotten that there are still military forces representing Pretoria in Angolan territory), provided support of the UNITA ceases and provided UN Security Council Resolution 435 pertaining to independence for Namibia, the key to the question, after all, begins to be implemented.

And there are those who say that the participation of these FNLA and COMIRA elements may be of overwhelming importance if the scenario contemplated and desired by some comes about, in which the UNITA, once the support of South Africa has officially been terminated, is seen to be functioning with aid provided from the North and East.

Pressure From Other Nations

At this point, the question of the investigation the Portuguese government has announced will be made into the activities of the Portuguese military personnel cooperating with the FAPLA in Angola arises again. Nor has this investigation developed accidentally: it is rather a question of pressure from other capital cities where it is known very well what is happening in the field.

The fact is, however, that the announced investigation, which I am certain will not go forward, since it is so preposterous, can only make the relations between Portugal and Angola, already so much deteriorated, still more difficult.

These Portuguese military officers, for their part, are not concerned. They say they are there solely to cooperate with the Angolan government as technicians. They are transmitting their know-how concerning guerrilla warfare and the terrain, which is not inconsiderable. They also have the advantage of speaking the same language as their students. They are not in uniform and they are not armed. They organize and they advise. They have nothing to do with the subsequent use of the men they help to train. And none of this personnel is on active service, with the "minor" additional detail that the majority are not even on the roster. What is the Portuguese government trying to do?

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

62 UNITA MEMBERS KILLED--Over 50 UNITA criminals were killed by the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] in the province of Benguela alone during the first week of 1985. According to ANGOP, which cites authorized military sources, 62 UNITA bandits were annihilated by our fighters in the areas of Balombo, Chongoroi, Bocoio, Undende and (Pupumo). A large quantity of war materiel was also seized. A total of 76 people who were forced at gunpoint by UNITA to live in the bush were freed by FAPLA combatants, who also recovered 93 head of cattle stolen by UNITA bandits from the residents of those areas. During the operations, the Angolan combatants destroyed 104 huts built by the criminals. [Text] [Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Jan 85 MB]

CSO: 3442/145

GHANA

ASSOCIATION BANNED FOR ATTEMPTED SABOTAGE OF CDR EFFORTS

AB072105 Accra Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 7 Jan 85

[Text] An organization calling itself the Scholars Association at Akumadan in the Ashanti Region has been banned with immediate effect for constantly attempting to sabotage the efforts of the Zonal Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, CDR, and the Town Development Committee of the development of the town.

Announcing this at a meeting with representatives of the association and the two bodies at Ofinso, the district secretary, Mr Dominic Anoma, ordered the police to take over the property of the association to insure that peace prevailed. Mr Anoma blamed the association, led by Mr E. K. Nkansah, a former deputy minister in the People's National Party administration, for taking sides with one of the factions in the chieftancy dispute in the town and indulging in activities aimed at causing disaffection for the CDR in the area.

The Akumaden zonal organizing assistant of the CDR, Nana Yaw Kwadua, said the top hierarchy of the association had expressed hatred for the CDR to the extent that they gave instructions that no CDR member should be allowed into any house belonging to any member of the association.

CSO: 3400/395

MOZAMBIQUE

U.S. DONATION OF DAIRY PRODUCTS DELIVERED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 6 Dec 84 p 7

[Text] The delivery of the donation of cheese, butter, powdered milk and butterfat made by the American government to aid the victims of natural catastrophes has been completed in Maputo. The distribution of the first two products, limited to the cities of Maputo and Beira, is proceeding at a normal rate in the capital city, while due to transportation difficulties, Beira has not been receiving its quota regularly, our staff has learned.

The donation made by the United States of America, delivered in three lots, included a total of 1440 tons of butter and 500 tons of cheese, as well as 2,550 tons of powdered milk and 850 of butterfat (to be added to the mixture in preparing powdered milk), and also 350 tons of enriched milk.

According to the conditions established by the donor, the cheese and the butter were to be distributed free in Maputo and Beira in the social centers at work premises, schools, children's nurseries and hospitals. In this connection, the donor also established quotas of 25 grams of cheese and 20 grams of butter per person per day.

The powdered and enriched milk is to be distributed to all the provinces, in particular the zones where the effects of the drought were the worst or those suffering the most flood damage.

Distribution of the Gift

The first delivery of this donation was made on 10 May of this year, and the storage of the various quantities was entrusted to the PESCOM.

A survey of the labor centers and schools in the cities of Maputo and Beira was made with a view to the distribution, a task entrusted to the COGROPA. The purpose was to identify the units with social centers or cold storage facilities, so as to draw up the pertinent list.

"We began the distribution of cheese and butter on 1 June, and to date the criteria imposed by the donor, specifically free distribution through social centers to benefit the workers directly, in schools, nursery establishments and hospitals, have been fully respected. We have established a checking mechanism including a representative of the donor country," the director of the COGROPA, Samuel dos Anjos Tembe, explained to us.

Quotas of 1,008 tons of butter and 359 tons of cheese were established for the city of Maputo, while 432 tons of butter and 150 tons of cheese were to go to the city of Beira.

On the basis of the established plan, the city of Maputo has received an average of 88 tons of butter and 68 tons of cheese.

Irregular Deliveries

"However, due to the transportation problem," the director of the COGROPA went on to say, "the city of Beira has not been receiving its quotas regularly. To date we have only succeeded in delivering 40 tons of cheese and butter, and the rest of the quota for that city is still in Maputo."

This situation is due to the fact that maritime transportation is not practicable because our coastal vessels do not have refrigerator facilities for carrying these products. Air transport is rather expensive, apart from the very limited space available on air carriers.

"The problem will now be taken up with various bodies involved in the matter, and the initial solution will have to involve air transport," the director of the COGROPA said.

Current Situation

On the basis of the monthly distribution averages established, all of the butter donated should provide the established consumer circuits with a year's supply (distribution has now been under way for 5 months).

"However, with regard to cheese, the city of Maputo has already consumed practically all of its quota. Only a small quantity, sufficient for another week, remains. The last delivery of cheese will have to be sent almost entirely to Beira, since the earlier shipments were diverted to Maputo, because of the transportation problem," the director, Samuel Tembe, said.

Rotting Cheese

About 800 kilograms of cheese, out of the total of 500 tons of this project delivered for storage, have spoiled in the cold storage premises of the PESCOM in Maputo.

Our staff learned from the PESCOM office that "two or three cases came from the wharf broken and, being in contact with other cases, caused fungus and mold to develop in 800 kilograms of cheese."

This deterioration, according to the PESCOM, is limited to the areas where the packaging was damaged, such that it is therefore probable that after the spoiled surface portions are cut away, the inner part of this product may be in usable condition.

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MOZAMBIQUE

SWEDISH AID ORGANIZATION SHAKEN BY MURDER OF STAFF WORKER

SIDA Leaders Debate Response

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Dec 84 p 6

[Article by Robert Braunerhielm]

[Text] Anders Forsse, head of SIDA [Swedish International Development Authority], wants to change the orientation of Sweden's aid to Mozambique following the murder of a Swedish aid worker.

Forsse told DAGENS NYHETER: "We cannot help the country develop its agriculture if we don't dare have people on the spot."

But SIDA's local director in Mozambique disagrees with him, saying that no major changes are necessary.

The Swedes in Maputo are very depressed following the murder of Swedish aid worker Per Martinsson, 36. Reports arrived on Sunday that he had also been beaten before being shot by the rightwing MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] guerrilla movement.

Ulf Rundin, SIDA's chief in Mozambique, says: "We don't know why they beat him."

Same Automobile

Ulf Rundin told DAGENS NYHETER: "Riding in the same automobile with Per Martinsson was the daughter of the governor of Gaza Province, Auvelio Manave, who is a very well-known man in Mozambique."

It may in fact have been the discovery of the governor's daughter, who is a veterinary assistant, in Martinsson's automobile that led the murderers to beat him before he and the girl were shot in the back.

Mozambique's official press agency, the AIM, reported on Sunday that 11 people had been killed in the ambush by antigovernment rebels near Namachaa, which is about 40 miles west of Maputo, the capital. A Portuguese agricultural expert and nine Mozambicans were killed in addition to Martinsson. The AIM reported that the rightwing guerrilla group had killed its victims with firearms and bayonets.

Disaster Assistance

There is disagreement within SIDA over whether aid to Mozambique can continue unchanged. Since 1977, in cooperation with the other Nordic countries, Sweden has been engaged in a project for developing agriculture in Mozambique.

As part of that project, known as MONAP, there is training in everything from seed improvement to modern agricultural methods.

Anders Forsse, director general of SIDA, says: "This requires that we have people on the spot out in the rural areas. Now I suspect that we will not allow Swedes to live outside the cities, and that will make it impossible to carry out the project."

He wants Swedish aid money to be used for other things, such as disaster assistance and the purchase of essential commodities for Mozambique, which has been hit by widespread famine. At the same time, the Swedish aid workers would have to come home.

Political Dividend

If that happened, it would mean a political dividend for the guerrillas, who want to obstruct the regime's contacts with the rest of the world and hinder development of the domestic economy.

Bo Kalfors, Sweden's ambassador to Mozambique, told DAGENS NYHETER: "The right-wing MNR declared earlier this year that it would regard all foreigners in Mozambique as military targets."

But despite that, he says that the situation for foreigners in Mozambique is not especially serious.

Small Units

He says: "The guerrillas work in very small units out in the countryside. But most of the time foreigners are in the towns, where they are in fact protected."

Bo Kalfors now feels that Sweden's aid to Mozambique ought to be increased instead.

For a number of years, Swedish projects in the mining sector, forestry, industry, and development of the telecommunications system have been interrupted and postponed because of the worsening situation in Mozambique.

Gosta Edgren, under secretary of state for aid affairs, admits that this has been a victory for the MNR guerrillas.

"But as a provider of aid, there is not much we can do. We were hoping that the situation would improve when South Africa and Mozambique signed a peace agreement earlier this year, but that has not been the case."

The MONAP agricultural development project has now become the latest to be postponed pending stabilization of the situation and guaranteed safety for Swedish personnel. SIDA's local director, Ulf Rundin, feels, however, that the decision was too hasty.

Safe Cities

"Many people are employed on the MONAP project today. Most of those from the Nordic countries are employed in administration in the cities, where they are safe. Their situation would not be improved by halting MONAP."

Ulf Rundin says: "Those employed directly by the government in Mozambique--aid workers from Holland, Latin America, Portugal, and Great Britain--are the ones out in the countryside. It is not SIDA but the government in Mozambique which is responsible for their safety."

He says that portions of MONAP are open to discussion, but that as a whole, the project ought to continue. It is one of the few programs that exist for improving the primitive agricultural methods in the country.

Changes

Ulf Rundin will meet with representatives of Mozambique's Ministry of Agriculture today to thrash out the problem and see what changes should be made for the sake of safety.

Anders Forsse is also calling a meeting of his closest associates today to discuss whether the agricultural project can continue at all.

Worker Cites 'Increased Terror'

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Dec 84 p 6

[Text] Goteborg, Sunday--"I assume that all my former fellow workers have been murdered," says a shocked Eva Lundin concerning the murder in Mozambique of her successor, SIDA agronomist Per Martinsson.

Eva Lundin returned to Goteborg just this past September after having worked as an agronomist--together with her live-in companion Sture Wingard--at the SIDA-subsidized farm in Namachaa in Mozambique.

The couple tells of an escalation in "bandit terrorism" and of increased terror among the inhabitants of the locality in southern Mozambique.

"The murder could just as well have happened to me," adds Eva Lundin, who worked in Mozambique for 4 years as part of MONAP, a countrywide aid project sponsored by the Nordic countries.

The dairy farm in Namachaa, near the border with Swaziland, operates as a model farm and agricultural school. It is one of seven farms making up the MONAP project.

Shooting

When the Goteborg pair arrived in Namachaa 4 years ago, they heard about "the armed bandits," as the antigovernment rebels are called in Mozambique, but that was all.

During their last year on the farm, however, they heard gunfire practically every evening. Now the roads are cut off, mined, and extremely dangerous to travel on. The capital, Maputo--42 miles to the east on the Indian Ocean--is surrounded by terror.

Per Martinsson, the murdered Swedish aid worker, was warned by Sture Wingard not to take the job in Mozambique.

Eva Lundin feels that "if his old job in Sweden had not already been filled, he surely would have kept it."

Foreign personnel on the seven MONAP farms normally meet in Maputo every Saturday to discuss the security situation and other matters.

But as terrorism by the South African-supported guerrillas increased, it became increasingly difficult to hold those consultations.

Great Danger

Eva Lundin says: "While I was familiarizing my successor Per Martinsson with the work, we were able to make only one trip to Maputo. The danger was too great."

Per Martinsson's second trip to Maputo was fatal. On his way to the meeting in the capital, where, among other things, he was to have been advised of a new ban on travel on the road in question, the Swede and 10 Mozambican employees of the farm were murdered.

They were ambushed just outside Namachaa.

New Security Rules Issued

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 18 Dec 84 p 6

[Article by Osmo Vatanen]

[Text] SIDA's aid workers in Mozambique must stay in the biggest cities. They are no longer allowed to move about in the countryside or to travel without special permission from the Swedish Embassy in Maputo, the capital.

This is all in accordance with the new security rules issued by SIDA following the murder of aid agronomist Per Martinsson.

SIDA will also establish a liaison network whose members can get in touch with the Swedish Embassy quickly. Radio will also be used to improve communications.

Per Martinsson was driving his own automobile from the farm in Namachaa, where he worked, to a SIDA conference on the security of aid workers when he was stopped by a guerrilla patrol on the road and mowed down along with 10 of the farm's Mozambican employees. In a conversation with SIDA, Martinsson himself had said that he felt the road was safe.

Swedish Team of 361

Among those covered by the new rules are SIDA's 38 agricultural experts involved in agriculture throughout Mozambique as part of the Nordic cooperative agricultural project known as MONAP. Of that number, 28 are already in the capital.

The others are scattered among the cities of Beira, Nampula, Pemba, and Quelimane, which are considered secure and have open airports making it possible either to provide the aid workers with supplies or evacuate them.

Many of the workers were withdrawn from the countryside as far back as June.

The entire Swedish group in Mozambique totals 361. Of that number, 315 are in the capital, and the rest are in the provincial cities.

The new security rules were adopted on the recommendation of SIDA's security expert, Maj Staffan Marelius, who made a 2-week visit to Mozambique to assess the situation. Approximately the same rules are being adopted by the other Nordic countries.

Fewer Jobs

The Nordic retreat from the countryside means a setback for aid work, which will nevertheless continue, although in somewhat different forms. SIDA does not even feel, for example, that it is useless to continue its agricultural work.

Johan Holmberg of SIDA's Agricultural Section says: "The country has such a shortage of trained personnel, even in the capital, that our project would come to a complete standstill and development would suffer a serious setback if everyone were withdrawn.

"But if this situation continues, we will probably have to reduce the number of jobs from the 50 planned for 1986--by about 12 or 13."

SIDA also feels that a larger share of the total aid package of 255 million kronor can be applied to disaster assistance, since Mozambique has also been hit by drought and the guerrilla war has created a very big refugee problem--it is estimated that in the central provinces alone, about 500,000 people have fled from war-stricken districts.

Other Countries

More could also be spent on import subsidies (105 million kronor out of the total aid package) and on help in renovating and rebuilding old industries that are currently at a standstill.

Another possibility would be to invest more of the money in various training programs.

Sweden and the other Nordic countries are not alone in reviewing their security rules. Many other countries, such as Holland, Italy, and Portugal, and especially the Eastern countries, have personnel and volunteers in the country (in Sweden, the groups for Africa are recruited from among volunteers).

The number of aid workers who have been killed is now estimated to total between 20 and 30.

One of the bloodiest attacks took place in September, when seven East Germans and a Yugoslav UN official were shot by guerrillas at Lake Nyassa in the northern part of the country. In early October, the guerrillas killed two Italians, thereby breaking the cease-fire agreed on in Pretoria as a result of South African mediation.

Central Bank Chief on Economy

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 18 Sep 84 p 19

[Article by Lasse Herneklint]

[Text] "Mozambique today is in the same situation that Europe was in just after World War II. Then it was the Marshall Plan that worked miracles. Now we need foreign help to rebuild the country."

So says Prakash Ratilal, governor of the Central Bank of Mozambique.

"Repeated natural disasters, the MNR bandits, and South Africa's economic sabotage have destroyed the economy."

In an attempt to restore order to its economy, Mozambique has tried in various ways to interest foreign firms in investing. South Africa and the United States are two countries that have latched onto that development.

Before independence from Portugal was achieved in 1975, the Mozambican economy was based on earnings from agricultural exports, emigrant workers in the South African mines, and transit traffic through its ports.

Falling Production

Since then, agricultural production has fallen as a result of drought, the shortage of trained manpower, and bandit attacks that have destroyed machinery, halted deliveries of goods, and made work in the fields difficult.

Sugar production dropped from 177,200 tons in 1981 to 73,700 tons in 1983. During the same period, cotton production fell from 73,600 to 23,000 tons and production of cashew nuts dropped from 16,900 to 4,600 tons. In all, exports during that period dropped by over 40 percent.

South Africa has reduced the number of emigrant workers from about 120,000 in the early 1970's to 35,000 today, while the terms of payment have also deteriorated.

And basically, South Africa has also stopped using Mozambican ports. Traffic today is only 16 percent of what it was in 1973.

At the same time that export earnings have declined, the cost of importing important products such as petroleum has skyrocketed. Today, for example, Mozambique must pay cash for its petroleum imports. The result has been an acute shortage of fuel. Aircraft, which are now the only safe means of transportation because of the MNR's terrorism on the roads, often stand idle because there is no fuel.

Destroyed

Many roads and railways, like most of the rural businesses that supplied the peasant population with consumer goods and seed, have been destroyed by the MNR.

That, together with the drought, has resulted in a food shortage in large areas of the country. Over the past year, nearly 100,000 people have starved to death, while an equal number have fled to Zimbabwe. Several international aid organizations are now working in Mozambique, and there are no more deaths from starvation.

The FRELIMO government's economic policy is aimed at reaching the level that existed at the time of independence. In addition to encouraging foreign capital, the country has applied for membership in the World Bank and the IMF.

Reevaluation

This became possible after it was decided at last year's party congress to reevaluate the previous economic policy. Instead of assigning priority to an expansion of large-scale heavy industry and large-scale agriculture, as it did previously, the government is now concentrating on smaller industries that will support primarily agriculture, with preference going to family agriculture and cooperatives. It wants foreign firms to make the big investments.

This has led to talk that the economy is being shifted in a direction that is more market oriented than socialist.

"That is incorrect," says Prakash Ratilal. "We have always been open to investment, but there was little interest in it before."

But first the country must have peace. There were hopes that it would be achieved as a result of the Nkomati agreement, in which South Africa promised to discontinue its support for the MNR. Things have not turned out that way.

In the wake of the agreement came South African firms willing to invest in Mozambique. And they were willingly accepted.

Exports

The most-wanted investments are those that will increase exports, replace import goods, and help the balance of payments. Last fall saw the adoption of a new law permitting firms to repatriate a portion of their profits and guaranteeing that they will not be threatened with nationalization.

"We have been waiting a long time for this."

That was the comment by South Africa's trade representative in Maputo, Colin Patterson, concerning the law.

South Africa is eager to resume the old trade ties. It is chiefly interested in tourism, agriculture, and the port traffic. Recently signed were agreements calling for South African companies to repair the beach hotel outside Maputo and support fishing. South Africa has also invested 55 million kronor in repairs to the port of Maputo.

Food

Talks are underway to allow a South African agricultural firm to lease land for food production.

"We had to choose between a continuing policy of aggression and efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence," says Prakash Ratilal in explanation for the Nkomati agreement and the more open attitude.

"But we will never accept apartheid and will continue to criticize it."

The question, however, is how the future will turn out. The economic agreements between the countries came about in connection with progress toward peace. It now appears clearer that South Africa has not discontinued its support of the MNR, and Mozambique's leadership has said several times that it will not tolerate violations of the Nkomati agreement.

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MOZAMBIQUE

GOVERNOR ANALYZES SITUATION IN MANICA PROVINCE

Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 9 Dec 84 pp 16-21

[Interview with Col Manuel Antonio, governor of Manica Province, by News Agency of Mozambique (AIM) correspondents Fernando Goncalves and Anders Nilsson; date and place not given]

[Text] Two AIM journalists, Fernando Goncalves and Anders Nilsson, recently paid a working visit to the province of Manica.

During their visit, they had interviews with the first secretary of the FRELIMO Party and the governor of that province, Col Manuel Antonio, resulting in the dialogue we are publishing below. The subtitles are ours.

[Question] Your Excellency, how would you describe the present situation in the province from the political, socioeconomic and military points of view?

[Answer] The political situation in the province of Manica is characterized by the involvement of the population in general and the workers in particular in the execution of the decisions of the historic Fourth Congress of the FRELIMO Party, calling for a battle against hunger, against the armed gangs and against the underdevelopment of our country.

The people of this province have welcomed the decisions of the Fourth Congress with decision and dedication.

In combatting hunger, use has been made of all of the low-lying zones for the production of drought-resistant crops such as cassava, mapira, nhamo, corn and others. And if we make a comparison between the 1982-83 and 1983-84 farm seasons, we will see that the latter played a greater role in the economic development of the province.

While in 1982-83, all sectors--state, cooperative, private and family--produced only 4,700 tons, this year we succeeded in producing 6,500 tons of corn, not to mention the production of the family sector, the marketing of which is still in progress. However, although these figures do not meet our needs, I merely want to stress the enormous involvement of the people and the workers on the production front.

[Question] And within this whole process, how is the involvement and the dedication of the people and the workers in the execution of the decisions of

the Fourth Congress, and of the armed forces in the battle against armed banditry, evidenced?

[Answer] We note a great involvement and dedication on the part of the people in their close links with our defense and security forces. All of the agents of the armed bandits identified in this province have been located through the people. On the neighborhood level, the majority of the people are involved in vigilance groups, while the workers are all involved in the militia forces for self-defense.

Concerning the campaign against armed banditry, I would like to tell you a little story pertaining to this province. The phenomenon of armed bandits began to make itself felt here principally in 1978, in the localities of Dombe, Mutanda, Tsetsera and Chinete, in the districts of Mussurize and Sussundenga.

With the destruction of the general base of the bandits in Mussurize in 1980, they first scattered and then regrouped. In November 1981 and the beginning of 1982, the bandits moved toward the north and began to attack the districts of Barue, Guro and Tambara. It was in 1982 that we began to build the Messina sawmill, after the bandits had established themselves in the Mavonde zone.

They did so first of all because they wanted to block the beginning of the work of extracting iron from that zone, and secondly, they wanted to block the roads linking the cities of Chimoio and Tete. Their third goal was to block the construction of the Messina sawmill.

At that point, it was the forces of the Third Brigade which engaged in military action throughout the province. With the establishment of the provincial military commands in 1982, the situation changed. With the arrival of the provincial military commander here, the first task was training the local forces and reorganizing the militia.

Putting the Bandits on the Defensive

[Question] About 2 years ago, the concept of local forces, to which you have just referred, was introduced here. Their role might up to a certain point be confused with that of the people's militia. How can the functions of these two organizations be distinguished?

[Answer] The militia forces were assigned the exclusive role of effectively defending economic targets, while the local forces became the main shock force for the destruction of the camps of the armed bandits. It was these measures, together with the training of the people for self-defense, which began to bring improvements in the military situation of this province.

After all of this, the bandits began to be restricted to their camps. We cannot say they were destroyed completely, for that is not true, but their earlier movements were substantially reduced. Now the population can travel easily to Sussundenga, Macate, Chimoio and other localities.

However, difficulties in moving through some zones remain, because the bandit gangs which were dispersed in Guro and Barue, for example, are still scattered about there and have mounted some ambushes.

Most Camps Dismantled

Generally speaking, it can be said that the armed forces played a positive role here, because the majority of the camps the bandits had established in the province have now been broken up, and the bandits are scattered about there. They have to engage in actions because they cannot abandon their task, and cannot fail to carry out the orders of their bosses, but these are the typical actions of a thief who strikes in the night and in secret. There is not the same intensity as there was in 1980 and 1981. At that time they were attacking their targets by day, while today they do this in the darkest hours.

And the understanding of the people is greater, because we now find that the people in the neighborhoods and communal settlements are involved, seeing more clearly who the enemy is. We feel freer at this time than in the past. Formerly I received between three and five reports on armed bandit actions every day. Recently I have received two or three a month. This means that the activity of the bandits, who raged into this province, has now quieted down. And why is it that we had this very forceful bandit action here?

Because until 1980, when Zimbabwe won its independence, we had 88 kilometers from here a frontier with a country where the regime in real power was willing to give refuge to our enemies, who consolidated their forces there because they had every facility for action. With the independence of Zimbabwe, the bandits who until then had received the support of Rhodesia moved to South Africa, since it was that nation which took over the role of transporting these elements to our territory.

Because of the actions of the bandits, the majority of the people withdrew from the productive zones to safer ones, where they could not produce properly but where they had to be because of security problems, thus reducing our potential for producing much more.

The actions of the bandits also had considerable influence on the reduced transport fleet (for freight and passengers), since we lost many buses and trucks. Many distributors were thus left without trucks.

Today we have warehouse owners who cannot supply the districts for lack of transportation, and there are populations which can no longer travel to certain zones because mass transport is no longer available.

Raw Material and Spare Part Shortage

[Question] Although not on such a very large scale, the province of Manica has certain industries playing an important role in the overall industrial development of the country. This is the case with TEXTAFRICA, FAMA, EMMA, IFLOMA [Manica Forestry Industries] and others. What is the current status of these industries?

[Answer] Where industrial development is concerned, the few factories we have here in the province have faced serious difficulties in connection with raw materials and spare parts. They are working between 45 and 50 percent below capacity. TEXTAFRICA, for example, which has an overall goal of 13,500,000 square meters, is only meeting 56 percent of its goal.

We have an oil plant here which is also facing raw material difficulties, and as the sunflower seed season was not good, we have then to obtain raw materials from other provinces. The plant needs 2500 tons of sunflower seeds per year, and we are not succeeding in supplying it. We are undertaking a struggle to overcome these difficulties.

[Question] One of the serious problems in connection with the development of the country is the high existing illiteracy level. What is being done here in the literacy sector?

[Answer] The battle against illiteracy is being pursued in this province. Classes in reading and writing are proceeding satisfactorily in all the enterprises and factories, but we are having difficulty in the rural sector because of the incompatibility between the farm season and reading and writing class periods. Steps still need to be taken in this connection, and we plan to make a study with the peasants of the proper way of resolving the problem.

Collaborators Identified

[Question] In their activities, particularly here in the province of Manica, the armed bandits have had a great deal of support from "mudjibas" (collaborators), whom many people say are individuals who infiltrate the population and pretend to be peasants. Can you give us some clarification on the emergence and the role of these collaborators?

[Answer] The "mudjibas" are agents of the armed gangs who do reconnaissance for them. They mingle with the people in the factories and enterprises, explore the situation and then report to their chiefs, the armed bandits. The latter, on the basis of the reports received from these collaborators, plan attacks on the plants, enterprises and settlements.

In order to deal with the actions of these agents, we held a meeting involving the party and the defense and security forces to analyze the situation. We saw that during the armed national liberation struggle, we had reconnaissance agents assigned to reconnoiter enemy posts and then to report to the people's liberation forces so that attacks on enemy posts could be planned. Today we cannot use this same structure, that is to say reconnaissance agents of the Armed Forces of Mozambique, to report on bandit camps. This is not possible. It would be wrong for us to do this, because our reconnaissance agent is in uniform, is identifiable, and has characteristics which could immediately be recognized by the bandits. Taking this into account, we decided that the task should be entrusted to the people. Therefore, any movement of the reconnaissance agents, in factories, neighborhoods or settlements, is noted on the spot, because the people are now aware of the techniques for detecting the movements of the bandits and their "mudjibas."

I can state frankly that in all of the neighborhoods in these environs, the people are reporting the presence of any "mudjiba" whatever the day, time or circumstance. These agents have no opportunity to penetrate the city.

[Question] In addition to the fact that Manica has been a province on the frontier of a country which until 1980 was hostile to Mozambique, where the armed bandits were trained and developed, was there any other reason for the greater spread of the bandits here in Manica than in any other part of the country?

[Answer] The basic reason I can note is because when we had a hostile neighbor here, the individuals recruited were in the majority from this zone because the enemy knew they were most familiar with it. Pursuant to the Rhodesian tactics, the enemy forces never attacked those frontier regions. They attacked areas very distant from it. They used it as a base to attack here in Chimoio, or to attack in Gondola and Beira. They never attacked there because if they had they would have destroyed their informers and had to do without the information they wanted. In the frontier zone, the enemy succeeded in enlisting some individuals: family members of the armed bandits who provided information to members of their family, who in fact were the armed bandits. This made better enemy concentration and preparation here possible.

Although during the Rhodesian attacks, the argument was that they were attacking the bases of the ZANLA fighters, they ignored those bases, which were in the brush, and went to distant areas to attack. They used people from that area who knew the local language to facilitate the recruiting of traitors.

Supplies for Drought Victims

[Question] Some areas have been seriously affected by the drought. Machaze and Mungari are examples. Now that the military security situation has improved considerably in these areas, what will the provincial government try to do with a view to aiding the people in these regions? We are talking about clothing, food and even the reestablishment of the marketing network, so harshly affected by the bandits' activities.

[Answer] Currently the first action of the provincial government is to provide the people with food, and then to provide them with farm production tools so that they can work. In this connection we must stress the actions of the Red Cross in this province, which have considerably helped the locality of Machaze, which suffered harshly from hunger.

The government has food enough to supply that settlement, but because of the great distance between Chimoio and Machaze, the limited number of freight transport vehicles and the difficulties in the very process of getting there, this government action has been hindered by many obstacles. But with the effective support of the Red Cross, that settlement now has resolved its problems on a minimal level. It now has food, some farm production tools and seed, but there still remains a problem which the government must resolve--

that of water. That is a traditionally dry zone and it has always depended on drilled wells for water. Currently we are looking for pumps and attempting to repair some which are there.

So that the people can have land and can cultivate it, the defense forces must undertake an exhaustive effort to clear the zone, and this is what is being done now. There is also the Department of Natural Catastrophes, which is also helping in terms of clothing, foodstuffs, etc.

Defending Messica

[Question] In 1982, the Swedish government withdrew the technicians it had working on the Messica sawmill, citing the military insecurity of the zone. Since the military action of the Armed Forces of Mozambique has eliminated the bandits from that zone, will there be any contact with the Swedish government with a view to the return of the technicians to that plant?

[Answer] Currently Czechoslovak personnel are there. The Swedish contingent withdrew in 1982, not because the situation was so bad, but because they had listened to many foreign reports. And these were made threatening so that the cooperative workers would leave, in order to block the building of that sawmill. The enemy wanted to achieve its goals, but it did not succeed, because in June of 1981 we began work there, and in 1982, when the construction of the sawmill was moving ahead more forcefully, the enemy, in order to block it, deployed forces from its base in Mpandeia toward Mavonde, in Hondo, to the north of the district of Manica, to block the construction of Messica, travel between Chimoio and Tete, and the extraction of iron ore. Then the enemy launched its propaganda to threaten the cooperative workers who were in our country. On hearing it, the Swedish personnel thought "today, tomorrow or later, we will be attacked," and for this reason they withdrew. But they did so after having completed a large part of the work. The work was speeded up, resulting in the completion of the project before the scheduled date. This undertaking was carried out in accordance with the Economic and Social Directives of the Third Congress, which were executed on schedule.

Currently Czechoslovak personnel are there. The Swedes have withdrawn for good and will not return. What is planned is that they will support the Messica project with spare parts for a period of 3 years.

The enemy never ever did attack Messica. This was not possible because all of our strengths and concern were focused there. And we could not allow this to be sabotaged. We consolidated our position with the creation of the provincial military command, since beginning then, security around it was strengthened and the enemy could not attack. However, the bandits made many attempts to succeed in an attack upon Messica, but they failed, and I am certain that they will never succeed in this.

Developing Frontier Trade

[Question] There is another matter related to the fact that Manica shares a boundary with neighboring Zimbabwe. It is inevitable on any common international frontier that the people on both sides tend to exchange products,

even if this involves what we might call "illegal" trade, which I believe occurs in connection with the peoples of Manica and Manicaland. Will there be any type of negotiation with a view to establishing a trade zone in that frontier area?

[Answer] Absolutely! This is true. We are going to implement the guidelines issued by President Samora Machel at the closing session of FACIM-84, when he said that the provinces sharing boundaries with certain countries could resolve their concerns on a minimal basis rather than waiting for action by the central bodies. In this province, we have taken steps a number of times. First we ask the bodies in Manicaland to visit us in order to discuss problems not only related to trade, but also as neighbors, with a view to aiding the peoples living along both frontiers.

For example, the people in Machipanda have family members on the other side of the boundary, and the same is true with regard to the people in Zimbabwe. Therefore it is necessary to legalize this situation, and we are pursuing the necessary steps in this direction.

We have taken steps and sent notes. First we sent a delegation there to look for potential contacts and transactions. We told them that the provincial government in Manica needed to make a report to the embassy of Mozambique in Zimbabwe, asking it to make contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in that country to obtain authorization for the government of Manicaland to pursue such contacts. And in fact, we did this, but to date we have had no precise answer. We are encountering difficulties with our comrades, but we do not know what their source is.

In reality, every year we have lost large quantities of products we have been unable to consume. For example, the "lixies"^{mw} season is now approaching. We have had large quantities of "lixies" and we cannot consume them all. It would very good if we could sell them and obtain money with which we could purchase spare parts for our vehicles, tractors, plants, etc. But we have not succeeded in this.

Also we have large quantities of citrus fruits which often rot. Now some businessmen have already come here and seen our fruit and been impressed, but no results have yet been achieved. However, we will not give up, and will work until we obtain a clear report on this matter.

But it is not only with regard to trade that we want to collaborate. Our people also need organizations such as to allow rapid and legal transportation to facilitate visits by people from the frontier to members of their family living, up to a limited distance, either on this side of the frontier or on the other. We also have a number of people who fled to Zimbabwe at the time of Smith's bombings, and whom we want to bring back here. Now in the Mossurize zone, we already have more than 3,500 persons who have returned and who have been established in communal settlements. They are building good communal settlements, and these are even the best-organized and protected. In 1981, everything was limited in Mossurize. It was only possible to move within a 1500-meter radius, but now we can go as far as 50-70 kilometers.

*[Translation unknown. Probably lichee]

[Question] And now a question pertaining to the talks between Mozambique and South Africa. Has there been any reaction on the part of the bandits in Manica since the signing of the Nkomati Agreement and the Pretoria Declaration on 3 October, and is any foreign supply of the armed bandits in terms of equipment still being seen?

People Returned After Nkomati

[Answer] Two weeks after the signing of the Nkomati Agreement, an influx of people withdrawing from the zone where the bandits were to our zones was seen. Later, with the news on the radio, some men who said they had not gone to fight, but had only lived with the bandits, also began to appear. They began to come out in groups of four, five, six and so on. When these men arrived we dealt with their cases and channeled them to their districts of origin. We talked to the respective administrators and explained that they should assign their people tasks in their respective communal settlements and introduce them to the local population. When we asked the people why they had returned, they answered that the "chiefs" had told them: "We are going to a meeting in South Africa; you can go to the FRELIMO; we will be given independence in South Africa."

Thus the greater part of the population found in Macate is a part of this group. Since 3 October, men have begun to appear saying: "We did not have weapons, we just lived with the bandits." And obviously, we know that no one can admit to having a weapon. Some, after much investigation, succeeded in going in search of weapons, and others did not. But we have done investigation work and never put them in jail. No, we never did this!

[Question] But is equipment still being supplied?

[Answer] By the enemy?

[Question] Yes!

[Answer] A few days ago, if memory serves, last week, reports I received from the defense comrades working in the Hondo zone said that they had seen a plane fly over a mountain in that area and then turn on its lights and fly away. This was a few days ago, at the beginning of this month (November). It has not been proven whether the plane dropped equipment, food supplies or some bandits. However we suspect that it came to drop war equipment, because 2 days later, one of our vehicles struck a mine. This means that up to that point the bandits did not have mines, but they succeeded in obtaining them as of that date.

5157

CSO: 3442/120

MOZAMBIQUE

ZAMBEZIA STUDIES METHODS TO IMPROVE SALT DISTRIBUTION, CATTLE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] A program aimed at improving salt distribution in the districts and removing livestock for slaughter and subsequent meat supplies for the town of Quelimane is currently being coordinated by the provincial directorates of home trade, agriculture, industry and power, and highway transportation in Zambezia Province.

At the meeting held recently in Quelimane with the participation of salt producers, district storage heads and cattle raisers, three commissions were set up to study the feasibility of removing salt and livestock, organizing transportation and the latter's use and costs.

The commissions created in connection with this program will conduct studies in the three proposed areas up until 2 January, and there will be participation by entities directly linked with salt and livestock production and also the removal thereof.

At this meeting, which was chaired by the provincial director of home trade, Armindo Barradas, the large salt producing enterprises, namely, the Zambezia Company and Madal, reported that they currently have an additional 3,000 tons of salt stored at the production sites in the Quelimane area. There are also 54 salt production cooperatives in the area, as well as many private producers, who also reported that, although the campaign did not prove satisfactory, owing to the effects of the rain, they had some amounts not yet removed.

The Question of Prices

On this occasion the question of purchase prices to the producer was raised, along with prices of sales to the consumer--which are not compensatory; they do not offer an acceptable profit margin for the effort made to sell the salt in districts which in many instances are located over 200 kilometers from Quelimane. Moreover, despite the fact that the price has been set at 4 meticals per kilogram to the producer, the latter sell it for 5.35 meticals, claiming heavy expenses that they must withstand to organize their production and, in particular, to keep the little labor at their disposal stable.

Owing essentially to this problem of prices and transportation, the district storage managers in many instances do not take the salt to the interior sections where there is a greater demand for it. The storage managers from Alto-Molocue and Milange who were present at this meeting reported, for example, that they had nearly 200 tons of salt in the warehouses in Quelimane which have not been removed for lack of transportation, thereby raising the costs of the product.

Lack of Bags

The problems at the production sites are also enormous, because the salt dealers are forced to store the salt, which is inadvisable, and often in bulk. There is, in addition, the matter of the lack of bags because, according to the producers, their customers usually do not return them; and furthermore, the purchasers claim that there is poor weighing of the salt contained in bags. "We often buy bags with a tag reading 60 kilograms when, in fact, it contains only 50," declared a storage manager, who said that the salt producers claim not to have scales.

With regard to the salt removal, the Quelimane River Enterprise says that the producers regularly order boats, but do not have the product ready for shipment. It was observed that, in fact, there was lack of coordination in the program for removing this salt from the production areas; which often makes it necessary for boats to be made available without confirmed cargo. In some instances, the enterprises refuse to pay for the so-called "dead freight" under those terms, even after the boat has gone to the site and left there without cargo.

The maritime administrator reported that, although the boats' capacity is small, there are cases wherein they are kept inactive owing primarily to the lack of programming and confirmation of cargo.

As a first step for imposing discipline on this state of affairs, this meeting decided that the storage managers should have binding contracts; that is, on the site where they must purchase the salt, always guaranteeing that it will reach the districts. Based upon a regulation established by the Zambezia provincial government, all the district warehouse managers are obliged to supply the districts with salt.

Studying the Removal

The commission formed to study the removal and sale of salt in the province's districts also has as a mission the proposal of more acceptable prices for purchases from the producer, and the study of all the orders resulting from the transportation of salt to the distribution site. But this does not mean any change in the price to the consumer, which is 7 meticals and 50 centavos.

As for the possibilities of improving the meat supply to the town of Quelimane, the provincial director for agriculture claimed that, during the past 10 years, the volume of bovine cattle in the province declined drastically; hence,

over the short term it will be impossible to guarantee a satisfactory meat supply. Figures given on this occasion indicate that, since 1971, there has been a reduction of 100,000 head of cattle in the existing supply of bovine livestock. In 1974, there were nearly 200,000 head, and now there are only 95,000.

Counting on Hog-Raising

The provincial director for agriculture explained that the major solution for this situation will be the development of hog-raising currently under way in the province, which will bring about palpable results starting in the first 6 months of next year. He announced that this program began in 1983, with the distribution of nearly 4,000 animals, and was recently reinforced with the arrival of more hogs in the province. However, he noted that, with the proper organization of transportation, it will be possible to make better use of the currently existing livestock.

Meanwhile, at a meeting held last Tuesday in Quelimane, with the private carriers, the provincial director for highway transportation announced severe measures against truckers who fail to comply with the principles established for their activity in the province. He said that the latter's fuel supply might be cut off if they remain stubborn in their apathetic attitude toward the removal of products to and from the districts. He recommended that the private carriers group submit a report on the long-distance carriers associated with marketing, wood and coal, for better control. The group will have to become organized so as to become familiar with the most willing and conscientious carriers participating in the removal of products on the urban level at present.

2909

CSO: 3442/123

MOZAMBIQUE

MANICA STATE INSPECTOR ASSESSES PROVINCE'S DEVELOPMENT

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] The state inspector, Lt Gen Raimundo Pachinuapa, who had been paying a working visit to Manica Province until 21 November, claimed to be satisfied with the economic and social development under way in the districts of Manica, Chimoio and Sussundenga.

Addressing the workers on the sites visited, Raimundo Pachinuapa remarked: "We must prove that we are capable of leading ourselves and victoriously combating underdevelopment." The state inspector visited the railroad enterprise in Gondola, and said that the local railroad sport facilities should be put to better use, not just for the workers' benefit, but also for that of the community.

At the Amatongas educational center, Raimundo Pachinuapa urged the school's directors to resolve the lack of piped water and electrification in certain sections, and also to improve the appearance because, as he commented: "The school doesn't teach only science and technology; but it offers civic education.

Raimundo Pachinuapa also visited the Manica livestock enterprise, located in Gondola. This enterprise operates over an area of 500 hectares. Currently under construction on the site is a dam to irrigate not only the enterprise's land but also that of the surrounding family producers.

After his visits to the production centers, Pachinuapa, accompanied by the military commander, Tobias Dai, met with the district governors of Manica, Chimoio and Sussundenga. The state inspector stressed the need for the health and education structural agencies to create health stations and schools in all the communal villages, in order to attract the population to collective living.

Raimundo Pachinuapa told the district governors: "Our communal villages must be genuine sources for the creation of towns in the rural area"; upholding the need for providing them with infrastructures befitting social and productive activity.

The district governors informed the state inspector that the population, which has been liberated from the armed bandits, has immediately resumed its social and productive activity. Expressing gratification at the economic and social conditions in the three districts of Manica Province, Raimundo Pachinuapa nevertheless sounded an alert for close vigilance against the armed bandits.

MOZAMBIQUE

PEASANT COOPERATIVES MAKING INVESTMENTS PROFITABLE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 7 Dec 84 p 8

[Article by Antonio Souto: "Support and Loans Multiplied by Peasants"]

[Text] In about 4 years of organized activity, the Maputo city agricultural production cooperatives have created a total value estimated at about 240,000 contos out of investments evaluated today at 95,000 contos. This means that there has been expanded reproduction of the capital invested, at a ratio of almost 1 to 2.5. In the opinion of one of the officials in charge of the dynamic development of this cooperative peasant movement, "the financial results of this organization clearly show that the domestic and foreign investments made, whether by the Bank of Mozambique or by the various foreign institutions, were not charity contributions, but investments which were not only economically profitable, but above all created a new technical and human potential."

An economic and financial survey of the farm cooperatives made by the People's Development Bank, through its cooperation with the leadership of the cooperatives and Zonal Unions, has already made it possible to establish that from this point of view, the status of this movement can be termed "rather

This survey, which has not yet been completed, led to the conclusion that there are assets of 107,000 contos. Five Zonal Unions and the assets directly controlled by the General Union have yet to be assessed and this should increase these assets by about 70-80,000 contos.

In addition to this, during the 4 years during which these assets were developed, the profits distributed to the cooperative members in cash came to about 56,000 contos. For each of the 4 years of minimally organized activity, beginning in 1981, the profits distributed by the cooperatives came to the following sums in thousands of contos: 1981--1.9; 1982--9.2; 1983--15.3; and 1984--30. Added together, these sums yield a total of about 240,000 contos.

These assets, in the form of profits distributed to the cooperative members or equipment, infrastructures, bank deposits and other resources owned by the cooperatives, when compared with the investments which made them possible, justify the conclusion that there has been good economic and financial management.

These assets are the result of activities made possible by a total of about 60,000 contos of domestic investment (bank loans) and an additional 35,000 in foreign investments, in the form of gifts. Another 15,000 contos in foreign investments have been available to the cooperatives, also in the form of donations, but these resources have not yet been used, since there are projects still in the process of being realized.

The fact that on the whole there are a number of foreign bodies which are planning new projects with the General Union of Farm Cooperatives and the Maputo Green Zones Cooperative Support Department, into which plans call for the channeling of more donations, is seen as an effect of the fact that these bodies see their contributions as being well-used and managed.

An official of one of these humanitarian organizations which has contributed the most financial resources to support the farm cooperatives told us some days ago that "since we must constantly justify the way in which our funds are being used in Mozambique, we are very willing and confident when we channel them into the General Union of Cooperatives.

"First of all, we have received from this sector realistic project proposals which are well-conceived and serve our goal--the development of the most neglected citizens such as to give them self-confidence and a greater capacity for social assertion.

"Secondly, and this too is very important, whenever we have asked for an analysis of how these donations are being used after allocation, we have obtained clear and open responses to these requests. This gives us confidence and allows us to demonstrate with facts that our effort is being properly utilized. Therefore, where the Maputo production cooperatives are concerned, we have always made our resources available, within our limited potential. If it were not for this relationship, as has moreover happened with other sectors, it would become difficult for us to work."

An official in the office of the Green Zones Cooperative Support Department, for his part, told us that the central aspect of the investment policy which has been pursued has been guided basically by what he called the "small steps teaching method."

The investments made in each cooperative must be accompanied by a development in its organizational capacity. "When we provide a new technology (an electrical pump, a team of oxen, a small tractor, a windmill, a vehicle) which represents an advance over simple manual hoeing or the watering can, we make an effort first of all to ensure that the peasants in this cooperative have or can develop the capacity to master this technology."

In connection with the foreign bodies which have made financial resources available to the farm cooperatives (whether or not already used), the leading ones, according to data provided by the General Union, are as follows (in thousands of U.S. dollars): Caritas--462.3; CEBEMO--155; Dutch embassy--125; Terre des Hommes--124.7; AFRICARE [African Reinsurance Company]--50; Christian Council of Mozambique--39; World Lutheran Federation--31.7; WFD--30; NORAD--22; Oxfam America--20; Novib--10; as well as others.

The leading countries from which these funds come are, in order of importance, again according to the same source, as follows (also in thousands of dollars): FRG--436; the Netherlands--305; Australia--260; Switzerland--124.7; United States--70; Belgium--44; Norway--22; France--14.4; Canada--8; and Italy--5; as well as others.

A peasant official of the General Union in charge of the cooperative movement described for us the support received from that body as an evidence of solidarity, in connection with which he said "we are certain that one day we will be able to reciprocate in the same spirit of fraternity.

"In some of our collective farms, we are already producing with the techniques and the profitability found in the private and state sector. Many of our children are now in nurseries. Many of us can now have a light meal at midday when we are at the collective farm. All of this is in large part a result of this effort made by thousands of individuals whom we do not know and who live in countries distant from ours, but who through their organizations have found a bridge to come and be with us and struggle together with us. The result is that there are many people who previously had contempt for us because we were illiterate peasants, while today these same people envy what we are and what we are doing."

This same official made a point of stressing that the great lesson of this growth is that these gifts were never accepted as charity, but as investments on which an accounting must be rendered.

5157

CSO: 3442/122

MOZAMBIQUE

PLANS CALL FOR SMALL PROJECT EXPANSION IN MANICA

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 6 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] Consistent with the plan for the implementation of small projects in the province of Manica, 17 wells have been drilled this year to tap underground water. A project for the semi-industrial production of bricks and tiles is being expanded, while plans call for the construction of more schools to benefit the community.

The wells were drilled in the districts of Chimoio, Barue and Mossurize to meet the needs of 22,000 peasants in the communal settlements of Nhamuenga, Zimpinga, Amatongas-Socei and the communal settlement of Nhambonda, in the district of Chimoio; peasants in the communal settlements of Nhampassa and Chidungue, and the returnees from Zimbabwe in the district of Barue; and in the district of Mossurize, the peasants in the communal settlements of Bassane and the headquarters locality of Machaze.

An individual in the Manica Provincial Construction and Water Office who supplied us with information also said that the monetary cost of each lined well was 120,000 meticals, while the unlined wells cost 60,000. Each well drilled supplies between 200 and 250 families.

In addition to the 17 wells drilled in the districts of Chimoio, Barue and Mossurize, there are six wells functioning in the city of Chimoio at present, as well as several also drilled by the Manica Provincial Construction and Water Office during the course of this year. All of this comes within the context of the efforts our government is making to overcome the water shortage.

Another 15 wells are to be drilled in the communal settlements in the province of Manica, and eight more schools will be built.

Ceramic Plant

On the other hand, the Small Semi-Industrial Pottery and Tile Production Project located in the city of Chimoio has already produced more than 456,200 metric tons of bricks, tiles, cups, pans, plates, jugs, pots, sugar bowls, glasses and pitchers, among other articles.

This small project was launched in salute to the Fourth Congress. Currently the plant has two machines, one for the production of tiles and another for the production of pottery items.

This same small semi-industrial tile and pottery production project has been provided with three machines, two of them manual and one electric, for the production of perforated bricks. These items are to be used in the construction of housing in the city of Chimoio.

5157

CSO: 3442/122

MOZAMBIQUE

MAPUTO AREA HAS FIRST WINDMILL FOR DRAINAGE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] After about 6 months of work, the first windmill built for drainage purposes in Mozambique was put into operation Thursday afternoon at the Che Guevara Farm Cooperative in the Maputo green belt.

The windmill was built by young cooperative workers under the direction of two foreign technicians, and within the framework of cooperation between the Windmills for Drainage Project of the Agrohydrology Section of the Agronomic Research Institute of Mozambique (INIA) and the IPAT project at the West Berlin Technical University.

Built on a field of 12 hectares in the Mahotas area, of which to date only four have been developed, due to flooding problems, this mill will make it possible to control the water level efficiently and to increase the arable area without need to use pumps which use liquid fuels or electricity.

Tens of peasants, as well as officials from the Green Zones Office, the General Union of Farm Cooperatives in Maputo, and officials from the embassy of the FRG in Maputo saluted the technicians who designed the windmill, as well as the young Mozambicans who participated in its installations, learning to operate it.

Wolfgang Stiebens, the official in charge of the INIA project, said that the construction and operation of apparatus of this sort in Mozambique may provide an important contribution to agriculture, mainly the cooperative and family sectors, since the equipment is very easily maintained and eliminates consumption of liquid fuels which must be imported, or electrical energy, for which the distribution network in the rural zones is still limited.

IPAT project technician Jochen Twele, an engineer at the West Berlin Technical University, for his part, described the windmill as a prototype designed above all as a solution to the shortages of materials and equipment maintenance problems existing in Mozambique.

The windmill, which has a centrifugal pump, can drain off up to 100 cubic meters of water per hour.

5157
CSO: 3442/122

MOZAMBIQUE

CASHEW NUT MARKETING IN NAMPULA FOR FIRST TIME

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Dec 84 p 8

[Text] This year, for the first time, the city of Nampula has joined in the campaign to market cashew nuts. The established target is 80 tons, and 20 dealers are registered, each of whom will contribute 4 tons. Gaspar Zimba, state secretary for cashews, recently visited some private producers and dealers in Nampula, and also talked with the residents to become informed about the details associated with cashew nut production and marketing.

At a meeting with the state secretary, the dealers and distributors in the city of Nampula reported that the recent rainfall in that section of the country had brought more hope, because the cashew trees are thriving and this affords an opportunity for the campaign to extend until January 1985.

They also noted that efforts have been made to reach and even exceed the established targets. For this purpose, in places where the dealers cannot guarantee the purchase and removal of the cashew nuts, mobile brigades have been formed to assume responsibility for that task.

The property of Augusto Carolina Araujo, in Natiquire, on the outskirts of the city of Nampula, has 2,000 cashew trees, and was paid a lengthy visit at the end of November by the state secretary, Gaspar Zimba.

That landholder cited as his main concern the lack of equipment with which to prune the cashew trees, and the lack of food products and items of clothing which might affect the peasants picking the cashew nuts, among others.

As he remarked, nearly 200 cashew trees on his property were burned by members of the population. Nevertheless, his cashew plantation promises to provide a good crop, even though it has also been hurt by the drought and certain pests.

Santos Noronha, from the Mualhaco area of the city of Nampula, was another cashew tree plantation owner visited by the state secretary for cashews. He has 100 cashew trees on his property. He remarked: "This year, there will be few cashew nuts, owing to the drought."

Insofar as the marketing campaign is concerned, he commented: "We want to have more bonnets, because we like to see our women pretty." For the men, he said that they at least needed shoes and shirts.

MOZAMBIQUE

SOFALA GOVERNOR TERMS SECURITY FIRST PRIORITY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 6 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] The highest-ranking official in Sofala, Major General Marcelino dos Santos, said last week at the Provincial Assembly Palace in the city of Beira that the struggle against the armed bandits remains a priority task, even though the enemy has reduced his radius of action in some districts, while in others we have almost gained control of important areas of bandit action.

This member of the Political Bureau of the FRELIMO Party spoke last Thursday evening at the conclusion of a meeting with three brigades made up of high party and state cadres on the provincial level, who just a short time ago began assisting the Sofala districts in the drafting of party and government plans for 1985.

Marcelino dos Santos said in this connection that it is necessary to empower the districts with cadres on this level capable of directing the current task of attacking, occupying and eliminating once and for all the camps of the armed bandits which are still continuing the actions disturbing the populace and are refusing to surrender with their weapons.

It is as a result of these events that the urgent need to reorganize and strengthen the various military fronts assigned to the forests in the province arises. As was learned on this occasion, the provincial military command cannot be allowed to ignore these actions, but must go ahead with its continuing task of providing material and moral support to the soldiers.

Defense Progressing

The brigades confirmed that some districts are already responding to this appeal. The respective party and government officials there are mobilizing the people and enlisting them in this task, specifically in self-defense courses, in popular vigilance and in reporting on each and every infiltration. This is in addition to the establishment of traditional weapons commands, which have already begun to have an effect in some regions in the province of Sofala, as is the case in Gorongosa.

Reports presented on this occasion by other brigades stressed the participation of district officials at the combat fronts and the execution of joint operations in pursuing and annihilating the armed bandits by the people, soldiers and militiamen. According to reports, this has made it possible to reestablish calm in many of the zones of the province.

Within this same context, the district of Dondo has already trained more than 6,000 persons, both men and women, in self-defense courses, and about 3,000 others will go into compulsory military service in the course of this year, some joining up voluntarily. Many areas in this same district have already been recovered by the FAM/FPLM [Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique], and immediately restructured.

Life in the Districts

The 13 brigades, assigned to an equal number of districts in the province of Sofala, specifically Chemba, Caia, Nhamatanda, Machanga, Buzi, Chibabava, Gorongosa, Muanza, Cheringoma, Maringue, Marromeu, Dondo and the capital city, Beira, presented their reports, describing the drafting of the plans in the districts.

Three base sectors, specifically economics, politics and the social structure, were the main areas on which the brigades based their drafting of the political-governmental plans for 1985, which have now been approved by the provincial bodies.

The assessments in the reports were focused on crop raising, livestock breeding, construction, transportation and communications, health and education. It was learned that the political sector was limited to the battle against the armed bandits, which had priority. In addition to the war plan, emphasis was also placed on the assessment of the functioning of the district structures, as well as each of the members of these structures, who will be individually evaluated at one of the closed sessions of the provincial bodies of the FRELIMO Party.

According to the reports, the plans were not fulfilled in the agricultural sector in the district of Chemba, because of the drought which forced the peasants to plant their seeds late. Although the provincial department for the prevention and control of natural catastrophes sent about 200 tons of corn to the district, the situation continues to be difficult, reports said.

In this connection, reports from Machanga point to the existence of lack of coordination between the district and the province, which has caused a delay in the delivery of seeds. This year, that same problem forced the family sector to exhaust its food reserves.

In the housing sector, there is a program in Chemba for the construction of various infrastructures, including houses, bridges, roads and schools, based on local materials--wattle and daub. On the other hand, the brigades reported the existence in that same district of small and unstable structures which might not survive the first high wind.

In Marromeu, the goals defined in this sector were not fulfilled, while in Muanza, plans call for beginning construction of improved housing and continuing the rebuilding of premises partially destroyed by the armed bandits. The report from Gorongosa says that there is no body in that district which can cope with the construction problem.

MOZAMBIQUE

MAPUTO PROVINCE GOVERNOR ASSESSES EFFORTS TO COMBAT HUNGER

Beira DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Portuguese 11 Dec 84 p 4

[Text] Maputo--If weather conditions are favorable, there will be no famine in Maputo Province next year. Along with the 2,000 hectares planted in various crops by the state agriculture sector, many more hectares have been planted by the farmers in the private and cooperative enterprises and by the general population, in a titanic effort to overcome the famine, one of the greatest problems confronting Mozambican society.

Anyone who travels to Magde, Moambo, Manhica, Matutuine and other districts will be impressed with the immense carpet of crops that stretches from his feet to the horizon. There are hectares and hectares of corn, sweet potatoes, cassava, "mapira," peanuts and other maturing crops, an obvious demonstration that hunger could be vanquished in Mozambique as long as the rain falls in the proper season, allowing the seed to germinate and irrigating the fields. The effort, the engagement of the people in production, particularly food production, is evident all around us in every rural landscape: it is the woman with her child on her back, cultivating her corn field so that the pesty weeds will not disturb its growth; it is the peasant, machete in hand, building a small cabin to protect himself from the rain as he prepares his field for planting; it is the woman with the basket on her head, carrying home the produce from her garden plot--the new young ears of corn.

The children are not excluded from this battle to produce food. After their classes, they are there lending a small hand in the garden, helping their parents, hoeing the fields or guarding the plots so the animals will not destroy the plants.

These are images which our senses retain and which demonstrate the compliance with the order of the day issued by the Fourth Congress, to put all our efforts into eliminating hunger, not only by the state, private and cooperative enterprises but also, and above all, by the peasant families, whose volume of production is still the greatest in our country. "If everything goes well, that is, if it continues to rain as it has been raining up to now, we will not have any hunger in Maputo Province," commented Lt Gen Jose Moiane, first provincial secretary of the party and governor of Maputo Province, as , optimistic and pleased, the governor assessed the work conducted by the working committees formed by the Provincial Assembly to support and promote agricultural production.

Facts

The optimism expressed by Governor Moiane is not only the result of the promising prospects contained in the reports presented by these committees, but also his personal observations during his recent trips to some districts in the province. The governor and first secretary stressed that the people of this region are devoting their efforts to the land as never before. He emphasized that their engagement is not only the result of the need to feed their own families, but of their awareness of the political importance of their effort. "Our province," Governor Moiane said, "has a responsibility to supply the city of Maputo, capital of our people's republic, where our revolutionary command is located."

Measuring this popular involvement in the battle against hunger, it has been said that at the Marraquane state agricultural company, whose primary activity is growing vegetables, the production is excellent and some products are spoiling in the fields because of the difficulties in shipping them to consumer markets, specifically Maputo. On the other hand, the company has about 19,000 contos deposited in the bank.

In Magude District, production exceeded all expectations, considering that it is one of the districts most affected by the actions of the armed bandits--in fact, the armed banditry erupted in Magude in 1982. An irrigation dam which was destroyed during the floods following tropical depression "Damoína" has also been repaired, which means, according to Governor Moiane, that "we will not be waiting for the rains to produce." Also in Magude, 21 animal-drawn carts have been constructed, minimizing the problem with the shortage of vehicles to transport produce. Several other projects are underway in various sectors of activity.

In Matutuine, production is also promising. In addition, it has the advantage of a large number of peasant associations, which makes it possible to organize efficient support to the family producer. Considering the importance of these associations and, particularly, how well the work of enrolling the peasants has gone, there are plans to create a union of associations of small peasants, an organ which will coordinate the activities of these organizations.

While the agricultural campaign is encouraging in all the locales of Manica District, this is most evident in Ilha Josina Machel. In fact, according to Governor Moiane, "the famine never came" to Ilha Josina; there are huge quantities of corn, the principal crop there. Moreover, water wells are being dug and 50 moldboards and 45 plowshares have been sent to Josina Machel.

Meanwhile, the creation of peasant associations is being promoted in all the districts of Maputo Province, to provide greater technical assistance to the family producer.

Commenting on the progress achieved in Maputo's districts in the battle against hunger, Jose Moiane said priority should be given to the production of grains. He had harsh criticism for the state enterprises which promote production of vegetables "as a means to pay off their bank loans more quickly," since vegetables are profitable crops. He added that although the price of grains should be revised, there is no reason to "downplay" these crops. On the contrary, "we must try to increase the yield per hectare even more, so that grains will be profitable too," he said.

MOZAMBIQUE

PEASANT ASSOCIATION NEAR NAMPULA IN FIGHT AGAINST HUNGER

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 13 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Jose Manuel]

[Text] As we observed at first hand, the development of the Peasants' Association of Caropeia, located some 10 kilometers from the provincial capital of Nampula, is a vivid example of the dedication of its 45 members in the battle against hunger. As the members told us: "We do not go hungry here. We only lack manufactured products."

"Our association is not a cooperative yet. We formed it to make our land more productive, to enlist the peasants and to disseminate information on farming techniques. Because of this association, it is already possible to obtain assistance from the party and government, as well as the Office of Green Zones[GZV]." This is how Jose Salimo Mussagy, president of the association, explained the orientation of the organization. He added that "everyone here lives by his own sweat."

In fact, particular diligence is shown by its members, most of whom are young men. "There are more men here because our women decided to organize and form their own association, and they will benefit from our experience and knowledge; we are ready to help them," one of the members of Caropeia told us.

According to the same peasant, the future farm women's association will be devoted particularly to growing bananas and papayas, but they are already talking about raising small livestock, to improve their diet.

"True, if they produce more, they will send part of it to the hotel units which have such a great need for meat," he explained.

We learned all this as we were touring the fields of the Caropeia peasants. Among other things, we observed that the land was good for growing. At this time, the members of the association are concentrating on improving production techniques, to make full use of the 500 hectares available to the association, only about half of which are now being used.

"Well, we don't want to be too optimistic, but our idea is to turn Caropeia into the major agricultural production center in the province, at the cooperative

level. The land is good and we only want support from the party and government organs and the Office of Green Zones," added Joao Chico, one of the associates.

Later our informants told us: "If we could acquire a tractor, electric pumps, floodgates and other implements and irrigation equipment, we are sure that when you came here again you would see how our production had multiplied."

The DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE news team which was recently in that area also observed the clear progress made by the farm association, which was created in June 1983, in solving the agricultural problems faced by the peasants in the region and in the dissemination of agricultural techniques and the efficient distribution of seed.

In the current campaign, the Caropeia members hope to obtain a better production rate, as a result of the vast program conducted by the party and government structures in Nampula and, particularly, the GZV, to divulge production techniques among the peasants, to provide work tools, to distribute seed and to guarantee the food products that the peasants need.

A GZV source in Nampula told our reporter that the introduction of new forms of support to the peasants, especially the provision of farm implements and the food products that they lack, has had highly positive results in the general production rates.

In the first 6 months of this year, the association harvested over 50 tons of vegetables, which were sold in the markets of the province capital and to hotel units there.

"The creation of this association gave rise to a new experience, which we plan to extend to many other zones of the province, based on the results obtained to date," said a GZV source in Nampula.

Forms of Organization

Explaining how the Caropeia Peasants' Association is organized, president Jose Salimo said: "Here in the association, we use the profits for the benefit of the group, and each member also makes his own profit."

He added that the policy adopted by the association is to organize, enlist and train the peasants so they are guaranteed the support they need for their activities.

According to the official, there are currently dozens of applicants for membership in the association. Commenting on this, Jose Mussega said he was convinced that as the association develops and the forms of support are perfected in all areas by the GZV, it will be possible to use all of the available 500 hectares.

He noted that, as a fruit of the association's progress in developing its farming activities, it now has about 100,000 meticals in the bank, which will be used exclusively to acquire seed and production equipment.

"In fact, we have recorded great progress in our association. For example, I can say that whereas last year we had problems with a seed shortage, today we can provide cabbage, lettuce and carrot seeds, among others, to the agricultural cooperatives. But we hope to develop even further," stressed the president of Caropeia.

Our reporter learned, however, that Caropeia is faced with a shortage of chemical products to protect the crops from various insect pests.

In this regard, DIARIO learned that a contract was signed recently between the GZV and the BOROR company for a regular supply of such chemicals.

6362

CSO: 3442/125

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

MOBEIRA BUILDS SILOS--The first 12 silos, for the creation of a food reserve aimed at minimizing the shortages caused by natural disasters, have been under construction since last June at the MOBEIRA company in the capital of Sofala. Their total storage capacity is 15,000 tons. The undertaking, budgeted at \$2.5 million, is the responsibility of "Forster Wheeler," a multinational which heads a group of Spanish firms involved in the project. Part of the civil construction is the responsibility of the Portuguese firm Construcoes Tecnicas and consists basically in laying the foundations and bases for the grain silos. As our reporter learned at the site, the project is administered by the FAO and has the support of the Swiss Government. Made of sheet metal set on a cement base, the silos will be used to store corn and wheat. They measure approximately 15 meters in height and also in diameter. Construction is scheduled for completion by September 1985, but the period could be shortened, conditions permitting. "The project administrators are making an effort to complete the work before September 1985," we were told by a Spanish technician linked to the undertaking. The same source told DIARIO that more silos are planned for other regions of the country; their construction is included in the program to create a food reserve for the country, to respond promptly in the event of natural disasters. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 15 Dec 84 p 15] [Article by Manuel Cumbe] 6362

EEC TO FINANCE DRY DOCKS--Of the almost \$2 million which constitutes the overall cost of the EEC program of support to the Mozambican fishing sector, [part will be spent on] 10 dry docks for ship repairs (5 of them large-scale), to be built soon in the cities of Maputo, Beira and Nacala, our reporter learned from Michael Hatfield, maritime engineer and EEC consultant for the fishing sector. Hatfield was here recently, meeting with Mozambican officials to arrange some details related to the project. He also told our newspaper that most of the equipment needed to build the infrastructures are already at the ports of Maputo and Beira, in the process of clearing customs. Construction could begin then, but this will also depend on other complementary factors. According to Hatfield, in addition to this project, the EEC will help Mozambique acquire the spare parts and other equipment needed to overhaul some fishing vessels. These acquisitions are based on a report of needs channeled through the Administrative Unit for Small-Scale Fishing. A few days ago, the EEC delivered a modern ship to the Beira Fishing Association, to distribute the dried and fresh fish produced by the nonindustrial sector. The ship cost over 12,000 contos in convertible currency and came with the spare parts to insure full operation for at least 2 years. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 18 Dec 84 p 16] [Article by Artur Ricardo] 6362

NEW JOBS CREATED--New jobs, in particular in the green zones surrounding the city of Nampula and in shoemakers', craftsmen's, carpenters' and tinsmiths' cooperatives, have been created, making it possible to eliminate unemployment and reduce crime. This was the conclusion of the Nampula provincial command for Operation Production, which met with Feliciano Gundana, the governor of the province and president of this body, presiding. According to the conclusion reached at this meeting, it has become necessary to launch Operation Production again to prevent the resurgence of situations which it is now hoped have been eliminated. In this connection, a survey of unproductive persons found in the main population zones will be made in the province, while at the same time vigilance in the neighborhoods will be intensified through the reactivation of checking posts. What is wanted is to establish exactly who is living in state housing. The unemployed will be intercepted at highway, airport and railroad station checkpoints. In preparation for the relaunching of Operation Production, steps will be taken to complete the issuance of census cards in the city of Nampula. The process will then be extended to the port city of Nacala and the Island of Mozambique. [Text]
[Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 6 Dec 84 p 3] 5157

CSO: 3442/122

NIGER

BRIEFS

FRENCH EMERGENCY AID--A French emergency aid shipment to our country has arrived at the Niamey International Airport. During the presentation ceremony, the French ambassador to Niger cited the Nigerien government's appeal of several days ago concerning Niger's difficulties following a chaotic and unquestionably insufficient rainy season. He also mentioned the programs that will be carried out by the Supreme Military Council and the government to mitigate the situation with off-season plantings. According to the French ambassador to Niger, this information attracted the attention of a number of French circles, particularly the Ministry of Cooperation, which immediately organized a program and collected seeds suitable to the country and the Progress Volunteers established in Niger. The initial outcome of this rallying of support, delivered yesterday, is as follows: 15 tons of potato seed, 14 tons of wheat seed, 5 tons of corn seed, 98,000 packets of vegetable seeds. This is only the first shipment; others will follow in the days to come. [Excerpts] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 11 Oct 84 p 1] A French aid shipment for our country arrived yesterday at the international airport in Niamey. The shipment included the following: 19,500 tons of wheat seed, 26,500 tons of vegetable seed packets, 18 tons of protein bars and a large load of fencing material. [Excerpt] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 29 Oct 84 p 5] The third shipment of wheat seed intended for off-season planting arrived yesterday in Niamey. The 34 tons of wheat seed have been allotted to the different departments as follows: Tahoua: 10 tons, Niamey: 5 tons, Maradi: 7 tons, Zinder: 7 tons, Agadez: 5 tons. [Excerpt] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 7 Nov 84 p 3] 9825

USSR DONATES BOXING RING--On behalf of the USSR Council of Ministers' state committee on physical culture and sports, the Soviet Embassy donated a boxing ring yesterday morning to the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. The USSR ambassador, S.E.M. Vladimir Koudatchkine, emphasized that the gift was an expression of the interest and friendship of young Soviets for Nigerien youth. Because physical culture and sports, as a necessary condition for harmonious development, play an important role in the life of a society, the Soviets rejoice at the progress of developing countries in this area, the USSR ambassador indicated. This is why, he went on to say, the USSR continues to furnish material aid and assistance in the development of sports facilities. S.E.M. Vladimir Koudatchkine also expressed the hope that this gift would be useful in the development of Soviet-Nigerien sports ties and in the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between our countries. [Excerpt] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 12-14 Oct 84 p 8] 9825

EC EMERGENCY AID--The European Community Commission has just allocated 3 million ecus (1,030 million CFA francs) in emergency aid to Niger, which brings the total amount of its aid to populations affected by this year's bad rainy season to 1,900 million CFA francs. As part of this program, 18,800 tons of cereal will be made available to national authorities, including 10,800 tons to be purchased from local and regional markets, which will allow their immediate distribution, and 8,000 tons from Europe, to be shipped at the beginning of 1985. A transportation fund will be established for the distribution of cereals within the country. Besides the cereals, 200 tons of powdered milk will be distributed free of charge. Moreover, cattle and small grazing animals will be purchased from breeders for drying and distribution of meat to needy segments of the population. The program will be rounded out by a "health" component which will include medicines, vaccines, blankets, tents and clothing. This first block of aid to Niger planned by the EC will be financed by two emergency aid allocations (1,030 million and 170 million CFA francs, respectively) and by the food aid program (700 million CFA francs). [Excerpt] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 8 Nov 84 p 3] 9825

ALGERIAN RICE DONATION--The government of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria donated 1,000 tons of rice to Niger and Benin, yesterday. The director of the Niger Office of Food Products (OPVN), Mr Amadou Souma, informed us that 410 tons of the 1,000 total were designated for Niger. [Excerpt] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 24-26 Aug 84 p 2] 9825

FRG MEDICAL AID--A ceremony marking the donation of medicines took place last Friday at the CERPA station. This gift was presented to the Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs by the West German ambassador to our country. Valued at 15 million CFA francs, the gift was made possible by a "Medicines for Africa" drive sponsored by young German citizens. [Excerpt] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 22 Oct 84 p 1] 9825

CSO: 3419/151

SOMALIA

BRIEFS

PRC LOAN--Peking--Somalia will get an interest-free loan of undisclosed size and Chinese experts will examine possible development projects for the Horn of Africa state under an economic and technical aid agreement signed between the two countries here on Tuesday, New China News Agency reported. The accord was signed by visiting Somali Foreign Minister Abdurahman Jama Barre and his Chinese opposite number, Wu Xuequian. The agency quoted Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang as telling Mr Barre that China was keen to step up its aid to the Third World by using non-traditional economic and technical channels. Since Somalia ended its alliance with the Soviet Union in 1979 and expelled Soviet personnel, China has helped with several major projects, mainly in agriculture and transport. Mr Barre, who arrived in China last Sunday, left for home yesterday.

[Text] [Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 27 Dec 84 p 3]

CSO: 3400/461

SOUTH AFRICA

REAGAN-TUTU MEETING, U.S. POLICY DISCUSSED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 Dec 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Reagan and Tutu"]

[Text] If the furious attack against South Africa were not so serious, it would have been laughable to watch how President Ronald Reagan gave the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Bishop Desmond Tutu, a lecture on what is really going on in South Africa and how the situation should be viewed.

It is striking how differently from Bishop Tutu the President interprets things here. For example, he does not think that the situation in South Africa has worsened, as many (who are trying to shoot down the new dispensation) are loudly purporting these days.

The President also said that those people mouthing off about American companies with investments here and calling for divestiture are speaking from ignorance. They do not know all the things that these companies do for their workers. Nor is President Reagan blind to the fact that many thousands of blacks have opposed the withdrawal of investments because they realize how adversely it would affect them.

One wonders in fact how many of South Africa's critics are speaking from ignorance and how many are willfully painting a picture calculated to put the South African government in a bad light and to raise the wave of hysteria against this country to a new peak.

It is no wonder that President Reagan has stuck to his guns with his policy of constructive engagement in Southern Africa. For South Africans having to deal these days with such a fit of negativism from abroad, the President's actions, together with his clear-headed view of the situation in South Africa, come as a ray of light.

The President's attitude should have a sobering effect in certain foreign circles where fervor has been worked up so high, and South Africans will feel relieved. But they should not have any illusions either.

It remains a fact that the American government is strongly opposed to certain aspects of this country's domestic policy and that increasing pressure about

it, pressure on the Reagan administration as well, should be expected. It is not for nothing that Dr Chester Crocker last week spoke out more harshly than usual about South Africa.

The attack against the policy of "constructive engagement" will not slacken readily. According to a number of signs, there will be attempts to expand its range and increase its intensity. Even in his own Republican Party there is a faction exerting heavy pressure on President Reagan. He will have to take this thoroughly into consideration.

The strong position by President Reagan must thus be seized upon by South Africans as an opportunity offered them to continue in earnest their domestic reforms. For the sake of the domestic situation, but also for the sake of foreign relations, South Africa must see to it that it has results to show.

The situation of blacks cannot be avoided, and the attention already being given to this by the government will have to lead to practical steps if the country hopes at all to shake off the growing foreign grip on it.

Foreign agitation, the most conspicuous being the demonstrations at the South African offices in the United States, are at the moment being largely nourished by the lingering unrest in black residential areas in South Africa. The way in which this is being depicted in the foreign media, especially on television, puts South Africa in a very bad light.

It is unfortunate that the attention received by the disturbances abroad is in turn encouraging the firebrands in their wrongdoing. And the more unrest there is in black areas, the more vehement is the anti-South African reaction abroad. It appears to be a case where one nourishes the other.

There is no easy path for South Africa's intricate problems, but the need for definite answers has become more pressing than it has been in a long time.

12271

CSO: 3401/56

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY ON REAGAN ADMINISTRATION STATEMENTS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 14 Dec 84 p 26

[Editorial: "Out of Self-Interest"]

[Text] The latest "clarification" by a U.S. administration spokesman of President Ronald Reagan's sharp public criticism of South Africa's policy of "apartheid" earlier this week confirms a suspicion expressed by us the day before yesterday in this column.

It is that the President acted first and foremost out of self-interest. He could no longer ignore the growing anti-South African campaign in his country because he realized that the aim of the campaign was to a large extent to get at him and his administration.

Now Mr Alan Romberg, an official spokesman for the U.S. State Department, gave the following significant explanation with reference to his President's criticism of South African policy:

"At a stage at which it is obvious that some people here in this country falsely construe or misunderstand our policy, the President wanted our position to be understood clearly." That position being that the Reagan administration has always rejected "apartheid."

This is not news to South Africans. But what should also be of interest to them is that the Reagan administration at any rate cannot prescribe what should happen here. How many times has this administration said that it does not want to dictate a final solution or formula for South Africa's domestic issues. It does not have such a solution anyway. South Africa must find it itself.

Furthermore, it is necessary to remember that American interests extend beyond South Africa. It wants to see a more stabile Southern Africa come about as a bulwark against increasing communist encroachment, because the latter could to a large extent imply a threat to America.

In this process it wants to see a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola, and for this it needs the cooperation of South Africa. Consequently, this is probably why Mr Romberg repeatedly stressed that there has been no change in American policy towards South Africa. Constructive engagement remains the cornerstone.

There must be no doubt in America and elsewhere abroad about one thing, and that is that South Africa cannot allow itself to be forced from outside to deviate from its set course of orderly and realistic constitutional reform. Justice will be sought while preserving civilized values for the country and for all its people, as President P. W. Botha said yesterday in Stellenbosch.

12271

CSO: 3401/55

SOUTH AFRICA

WEST EUROPEANS PLAN ACTION AGAINST GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 Dec 84 p 20

[Article: "West European Countries Jointly Eyeing New Actions Against SA"]

[Text] New parliamentary actions against South Africa's government policy can be expected in Western Europe in the near future. This follows as a result of the establishment of the Association of West European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid (AWEPA) on 3 November in Copenhagen, Denmark.

A Dutch member of parliament, independent Christian Democrat Mr Jan Nico Scholten, was elected chairman of AWEPA. Thirty elected representatives from the 10 member states of the European Economic Community and from Sweden, Norway, Finland and Portugal attended the initial meeting.

Mr Scholten, together with a Dutch socialist member of parliament, Mr Jacques Wallage, laid the groundwork for the establishment of AWEPA. According to Wallage (who will possibly visit the "Durban Three" before long, at the request of the UDF [United Democratic Front]), the goal of AWEPA is to "direct general indignation about apartheid in South Africa towards concrete parliamentary action."

An effort is being made to conclude a cooperative agreement between parliamentarians from different countries. The basic premise is that dialogue with South Africa about apartheid is inadequate as a means of pressure, and that support is necessary for steps such as boycott measures and financial aid to liberation movements.

The various national parliaments will take stock of information about South Africa, and every year political "priority outlines" will be drawn up. In addition to the existing oil boycott and measures to avert investments in South Africa, the discussion in Copenhagen centered particularly on so-called denaturalization. Those present considered submitting to the World Court in The Hague the fact that black South Africans are losing their South African citizenship because they allegedly technically belong to black homelands.

The transfer of computer technology to South Africa also received attention in Copenhagen. Analogous to comparable agreements in the Western world on the supply of frontier technology to the Soviet Union, there are now calls for a ban on the export of this to South Africa. The members of parliament feel that computer technology is important to South Africa in the area of armed forces projects as well as for the administration of the apartheid system.

Activists

A telegram was sent to the British government urging the admittance into the Durban consulate of the lawyers and family members of the three UDF activists. At the bidding of the UN Anti-Apartheid Center (which largely financed the AWEPA meeting), note will be made in the participating countries concerning how the arms embargo to South Africa is being applied.

In the meantime, five prominent law professors in the Netherlands have drafted a plan to ask the World Court to pronounce judgement on South Africa's homelands policy. The jurists recently urged the Dutch minister of foreign affairs to take the lead at the United Nations in this matter.

The World Court would have to determine whether the homelands policy is acceptable under international law. Dutch membership on the UN Security Council comes to an end at the end of 1984.

The jurists feel that through the homelands policy, black South Africans lose all claim to equality and become "foreigners" in South Africa. They wrote to the minister: "Denationalization is the basis for a new apartheid whereby the South African government creates the impression that racial discrimination is being replaced by discrimination according to nationality."

Homelands

They hope that a negative ruling on this by the World Court will result in the member states of the United Nations being forced not to recognize the black homelands.

If the United Nations can get a ruling on South Africa's homelands policy from the court, it will "be a great support to the black population of South Africa," the jurists think. They feel that this will have a shock effect on the South African government.

If the Netherlands takes the lead in this, according to the jurists, it will be a "dignified finish" to Dutch membership on the UN Security Council.

12271

CSO: 3401/56

SOUTH AFRICA

TREASON CHARGES AGAINST UDF MEMBERS GO BACK BEFORE FORMATION

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Anton Harber]

[Text]

THE high treason charges against six prominent members of the United Democratic Front relate to activities that date back to before the formation of the UDF.

Although no detailed charge sheet was presented when the six appeared in court on Monday, it was stated that the charges related to activities between 1981 and 1984.

Since the UDF was only formed in 1983, this implies that the charges also relate to their activities in the Anti-South African Indian Council (Anti-SAIC) campaign in 1981 and in the Release Mandela Campaign.

It is understood that the trial is expected to last between 12 and 18 months and the State intends calling more than 150 witnesses.

This sets the scene for a long and complicated trial with the State attempting to paint a detailed and diverse picture of treason.

Of the six accused, at least four played key roles in the Anti-SAIC campaign. These were Dr Essop Jassat, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr George Sewpersadh, president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Mr Mewa Ramgobin, NIC vice-president, and Mr M J Naidoo, also of the NIC.

The other two — Mr Curtis Nkondo and Mr Aubrey Mokoena — are respectively the chairman and public-

ity secretary of the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal.

All six have also been prominent in the UDF in the past year.

Apart from high treason, they are facing alternative charges of subversion and furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

This follows the pattern of the last few years, when political activists have generally faced trial under ordinary criminal law — for treason or murder — with alternative charges under the Internal Security Act.

This trial is one of a huge spate of political trials scheduled for the next few months.

According to the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), more than 30 political trials involving 160 people are scheduled for this month.

Another 19 trials involving about 104 people have already been scheduled for January, and nine trials involving 93 people are scheduled for February.

Most arise from the recent unrest and stayaway, and involve charges of public violence, attending illegal gatherings, possessing banned literature or subversion.

● The TIC said yesterday the only crime committed by the six opposition leaders charged with high treason this week was that they had "unwaveringly re-

sisted the crime of apartheid".

The TIC welcomed the release of their vice-president, Dr Saloojee, and others, but deplored the treason charges laid against their president, Dr Jassat, and five others.

The TIC has called a public protest meeting in Fordsburg on tomorrow night.

"In the eyes of our people these leaders are innocent. We call for their immediate and unconditional release," it said.

The TIC statement also said that it did not consider the release from detention of Dr Saloojee and others as an act of good faith by the Government.

"On the contrary, it is our contention that they should not have been detained in the first place," it said.

CSO: 3400/382

SOUTH AFRICA

RESULTS OF OIL SEARCH, PROSPECTS FOR EXPLOITATION

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 14 Dec 84 p 29

[Article: "Oil Search Yields Fruit"]

[Text] Johannesburg--After almost 20 years and 500 million rands, it appears that South Africa is finally going to reap the first fruit in its search for oil. The area south of Mossel Bay and Plettenberg has apparently been explored quite extensively over the last few years, and it is now probably only a matter of time before it is announced that these wells can be tapped.

Extent

Two oil and gas fields have already been discovered in the South Cape Sea, but it must first be determined what the extent of them is. The two fields are known as E-G and F-A. The E-G field lies just south of Stil Bay and the F-A field lies just south of Mossel Bay. Both lie in an area where the ocean is between 100 and 200 meters deep and both are approximately 100 km from land.

SOEKOR [Southern Oil Exploration Company] discovered its F-A field in December 1980. It is coincidentally in the same region where Superior Oil of America discovered a relatively small gas field in 1969. Superior held the concession to this area until the end of 1982.

The only other significant strike in the early years was diagonally across from the mouth of the Orange River on the west coast facing South-West Africa. This gas strike, known as Kudu, was discovered by Chevron in April 1974. Very high pressure was registered as this opening, and it could not be safely assayed.

Alone

Primarily for this reason, it has not yet been possible to thoroughly evaluate this gas strike.

Since that time, the international oil companies have abandoned the search for oil, and SOEKOR has continued the search alone with the Sedco K oil drill, which has incidentally been active in South African waters since December 1975.

SOEKOR accelerated its search in 1978 when the Sedco 708 was linked up with the Sedco K, where it remained until the end of 1982.

The first real evidence of possible oil-bearing sandstone along the South African coast was found in 1978 at borehole E-D1, when oil was produced on the surface. There followed several signs of oil and gas, and towards the end of 1980, 9 out of 12 holes sunk in this area had shown promising signs.

Highest

In December 1980, the F-A gas field was discovered, where hole F-A2 has produced 56 million standard cubic feet (SCF) of gas and 1,200 barrels of light condensate a day.

At the end of 1982, the E-G field was discovered, where hole E-G2 showed promising signs of oil. This hole has produced 900 barrels of oil a day, which is of the highest light grade. Successive drillings in this region have not produced any positive results, and a move was thus made to a new area, F-AFl.

At this stage, SOEKOR also stopped regularly publishing details about its drilling operations and for what happened for the rest of the year one was dependent on the annual report of the Department of Minerals and Energy Affairs.

These promising results were possible because a second oil drill, the Actina, began to drill in the Mossel Bay as well, and is still in operation there.

Most Difficult

The type of oilfields in the South Cape Sea are among the most difficult fields in the world to put into production because they contain gas as well as gas condensate, and there are also fields with low permeability containing volatile oil. The F-A field is a field that contains gas and gas condensate, and the E-G field has volatile oil and low permeability.

According to SOEKOR technical data, the hydrocarbon mixture in the F-A field is entirely gaseous due to the temperature and pressure of the reservoir. But as pressure falls during production, a part of this gas condenses to form what is technically known as natural gas liquids.

Estimates in the F-A field indicate that some 40 barrels of natural gas liquids will be produced with the production of each million SCF of gas.

Putting the F-A field into production economically was a considerably problem, and it is not known whether SOEKOR has managed to overcome it in the meantime.

On the one hand, there was the cost of two separate pipelines for liquids and gas and the necessary partition facilities at sea, while on the other hand the alternative of pumping gas and liquids through the same pipeline.

In the latter case, there is then the problem of liquid deposits forming in the pipeline when gas moves through it at high speeds and must in time be removed using very expensive equipment.

The methods for reclaiming oil, however, are being improved all the time, and the problems of reclaiming the oil and gas from the South Cape Sea are probably not too serious.

Methods

However, it is clear that the oil and gas can only be reclaimed economically if a market for the gas can be found. The oil naturally does not represent a problem. Because it is of such a good light grade, it will fetch a premium against the imported heavy crude oil and will be used as a mixer.

In order to be able to reclaim the gas economically, a daily production level of at least 200 to 150 million SCF is necessary if it can be sold at between 3.50 and 4.50 rands per 1,000 SCF.

However, if gas is produced as a secondary product, a much smaller production level will be necessary in order to be able to pay for the pipeline. A production level of 50 to 60 million SCF a day in order to be able to produce 1.500 ammonia or nitrogen a day will be sufficient, it is estimated.

Economically

A production level of 200 to 250 million SCF a day (with or without oil) will probably necessitate the setting up of an ammonia installation, a methanol installation and a market for industrial gas. According to technical data, this type of application can probably only be economical if production can be raised to approximately 400 million SCF a day.

And if one begins to talk about installations with a life of 20 to 30 years, it is clear that enormous reserves are necessary to transport a gas strike to land economically.

12271

CSO: 3401/55

SOUTH AFRICA

'TAALBUL' KEEPS UP FIGHT FOR AFRIKANER HOMELAND

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Dec 84 p 8

[Article Shirley Woodgate]

[Text]

"The Afrikaner will be wiped out within 20 years unless he takes immediate steps to protect his future."

The speaker, in perfect English, was Robert Spiller van Tonder, "taalbul", 62-year-old champion of Afrikaner identity, millionaire, and five-times married founder of Randburg.

He was expounding on his vision for the last-ditch salvation of his nation: the 1984-style laager called Boerestaat.

Enormously encouraged by reaction from academics to the low-key September launch of plans to revive the old Transvaal and Free State republics, the Boerestaat Committee headed by Mr van Tonder is now gearing up for 1985.

The ultimate goal is an exclusive enclave including Vryheid and the sea ports of Kosi Bay, Richards Bay and St Lucia Bay.

Unlike previous breakaway movements based on race, criteria for Boerestaat will be culture, tradition, history and language, Mr van Tonder said.

He likened his committee to Israeli freedom organisations active before that state came into being.

"Their leaders did not strive for a white state in Palestine but a Jewish state, an enormous difference and one which we emphasise in our own fight for independence."

The establishment of Israel

is seen as part of a global move away from big conglomerate states.

"The British consolidated their empire on a scale never known before, settled their own people and subdued cultures. Like other nations which have broken away, South Africa will be entirely free only with the establishment of the Boer State.

"America has become a super monstrosity, so big that electing a president is beyond the powers of the individual. This century's blood-letting was made possible by creating super powers which draw countries without a grudge into the vortex."

Europe, he argues, has successfully preserved individual cultures by retaining separate states while co-operating on an economic level.

Since Mr van Tonder headed the breakaway of Randburg from English-controlled Johannesburg in 1959, he has seldom been far from the news.

In 1971, as custodian of all things Afrikaans, he first publicised the need to form an Afrikaner homeland and he maintains every Afrikaner Prime Minister since General Louis Botha stands guilty of "de-nationalising the Afrikaner".

Today Mr van Tonder's Afrikaner nationalist fervour beats as strong as in 1974 when he was responsible for the first

crimen injuria language case in South Africa, a "test case" against a shop assistant who refused to speak Afrikaans, followed by a regular stream of similar court cases.

The next year he refused to give names of "Afrikaners fighting for their language" after a stinkbomb incident in a Pretoria bakery involving members of the Genootskap vir die Handhawing van Afrikaans.

As publisher of a book titled "Agter die Magalies", Mr van Tonder was accused of inciting racial hostility and in 1976 he launched a newspaper called *Die Stem* aimed at conservative Afrikaners on the Reef. Soon afterwards he claimed in an editorial that Security Police were investigating his involvement with the rumoured rebirth of a right-wing Afrikaner group akin to the wartime Ossewa Brandwag.

The language purity war was waged on many fronts.

He attacked SABC-TV for allowing "Cheesa Labuschagne" to belittle the Afrikaner by using "plat Afrikaans" in the popular soapie, "The Villag-

ers".

An issue of *Die Stem*, appealing for one official language, was banned and shortly afterwards Mr van Tonder congratulated the Premier of Quebec on the Canadian Province's decision to abolish English as an official language.

As a candidate for the Herstigte Nasionale Party and member of the HNP's national executive, he lost an election in Kemp'son Park in 1977.

The "taalbul" slammed the SABC for only devoting 24 percent of "white" programme time to Afrikaans, proposed that 20 Durban hotels should have their liquor licences withdrawn because they did not offer bilingual service and asked the Government to insist that not less than half the imported films should be translated into Afrikaans.

In 1978 he published a book detailing his ultimate dream: a homeland for his people.

That dream is still the obsession of the man who has vowed to sustain his relentless fight for Afrikaner survival.

SOUTH AFRICA

SWEDEN'S PALME PLEDGES TUTU MORE AID FOR FRONT LINE STATES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Dec 84 p 8

[Article by Kaa Eneberg]

[Text] DAGENS NYHETER has learned that the so-called front line states in southern Africa can expect another increase in Swedish aid during the next fiscal year. Economic support for the front line states, which border on South Africa, is seen as a way of supporting the fight against the racist apartheid regime.

The visiting South African bishop, Desmond Tutu, who is this year's peace prize winner, was informed of the increased aid during his visit to Sweden just recently. Among other things, he met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Lennart Bodstrom, from whom he received those assurances.

On Saturday afternoon, he met with Prime Minister Olof Palme during a hastily arranged meeting in Trondheim, Norway. The somewhat improvised meeting at the Olavi Manor was due to the fact that they had missed each other the week before. When the bishop arrived in Stockholm, Palme had to go to Reykjavik for the Nordic prime ministers' meeting.

Gratitude

Palme then decided that on his way home to Stockholm, he would stop over in Trondheim on Saturday afternoon, since Tutu was there that day.

Speaking at a luncheon hosted by Bodstrom in Stockholm, Bishop Tutu had expressed his gratitude for the generous Swedish aid to the front line states, adding, however, that "nothing is so good that it cannot be made better."

In the current budget, half of the bilateral aid, or just over 2 billion kronor, is allocated to aid for the front line states: Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, and others. That portion of Swedish aid has increased every year and will also get a hefty increase in the next fiscal year.

One Percent

For the next fiscal year, the government is not expected to depart from the principle that 1 percent of the GNP should be earmarked for aid.

Following criticism of the cutback in this year's budget, the Social Democratic government now has a resolution by the Social Democratic congress saying that the 1-percent goal should be maintained.

Olof Palme himself has also hinted on several occasions that the goal in question will be respected in the next fiscal year.

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SOUTH AFRICA

VERLIGTE PLEAS FOR REFORM DISPARAGED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 Dec 84 p 12

[Article by Anton A. Van Niekerk, senior lecturer in philosophy at Stellenbosch]

[Text]

ONE of the biggest ironies of the intermittent debate about the function of Afrikaner intellectuals is the questioning of the verligtes' reformist integrity and credibility.

While one would normally expect resistance from the right to Afrikaner reformist moves, verligte pleas for reform are, in fact, disparaged by other Afrikaner intellectuals who are farther left on the political spectrum.

One fears that what will suffer in the end is not so much the reputation of the verligtes — though that would indeed be a welcome bonus for their critics — but the process of reform itself.

The reason is obvious: if the verligte drive for reform within the National Party does not succeed, the victor will most certainly not be an "oorbeligte" type of reform strategy, but Dr Treurnicht and his reactionary ideology.

The consequences for the process of peaceful and evolutionary reform are obvious and desired only by people who have given up hope for a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

Are the critics of verligtheid incapable of understanding this simple fact? Can one not expect a little more sensitivity to the hard realities of white politics than that revealed by Professor

Johan Degenaar ("My heart is where the hurt is ... in the real world we cannot ignore", Sunday Times, December 16).

According to Professor Degenaar, the verligtes' "genuine striving towards democratisation within a power structure which is genuinely based on non-democratisation" is indicative of a "tragic dimension" in the current debate on verligtheid.

However, some Afrikaner intellectuals' refusal to accept the reformist credentials of their verligte colleagues and to acknowledge their success will turn out to be the real tragedy in the history of reform in South Africa.

The verligtes and "oorbeligtes" (the now commonly accepted nickname for the Degenaar camp) are arguing about different means to reach the same end: a just, democratically based South African society void of racism and statutory discrimination.

Verligtes strive for this goal within the confines and discipline of a politically realistic and intellectually respectable strategy: that their political inputs are optimally effective if channelled through the ranks of the party which is in power at the moment and which, in white politics, is the only party with a sufficient power base effectively to generate real reform.

Vague

The oorbeligtes clearly disagree with this, though this disagreement is, as far as I understand them, the only thing that is clear about their strategy.

The nearest Professor Degenaar gets to a formulation of strategy is when he says: "He (a verligte) should rather join forces with those reform-minded people who are willing to transcend racial and party differences in working towards a democratic society based on genuine power-sharing and freedom of association" and later "(he should) join forces now with reform-minded people of all colours in the creation of a just dispensation".

From these vaguenesses, the only deduction is that Professor Degenaar does not have a high regard for available parliamentary procedures in bringing about change.

Since "party differences" should also be transcended, it appears that even a vote for the PFP does not seem a viable proposition. If not, then what?

Is he calling for extra-parliamentary action? Is he pleading the case of the UDF or other similarly minded organisations?

If so, does he honestly think that a "reform process" thus conceived can be stable and peaceful?

Strategy

How does he conceive of "the creation of a just dispensation" in which the present Government apparently has no role to play?

How does he evaluate the Buthelezi strategy, which is vehemently opposed to apartheid but which uses existing legalised means to press for change because to do otherwise is to opt for violence and ultimately disaster?

A complicating factor is that Professor Degenaar apparently refuses to accept that the difference between him and the verligtes is mainly a matter of strategy.

According to him, the choice is not one between

different strategies but between "democratisation and its consequences and NP policy and its consequences".

In maintaining a critical solidarity with the NP, verligtes are therefore not really able to strive for greater democratisation; they live with a tragic contradiction; their thinking is "schizophrenic"; they try to "reconcile the irreconcilable".

Moreover, their "highest principle" is, in fact, not reform but "to uphold Afrikaner power". Above all, verligtes are "dangerous, both for themselves individually and for society as a whole".

They do not recognise the "discrepancy between fantasy and reality"; they have to live "both in the real world of injustice and in the make-believe world of good intentions".

These are harsh accusations which amply illustrate the real tragedy of this debate. Worse. They are instances of both oversimplification and distortion.

It simply is not true that the Government's refusal to share power with blacks in some or other forum is not negotiable.

In his address at the opening of Parliament in September, President Botha explicitly emphasised the urgency with which the Government regards the investigation by a special Cabinet committee into the political future of urban blacks.

If the permanence of blacks in urban areas is accepted, as the Government has repeatedly done, why investigate and negotiate about their political participation if power-sharing is not negotiable?

Preposterous

If the power structure of the Government is "genuinely based on non-democratisation", what does Professor Degenaar call the events of August and September 1984?

Does he suggest that the Hendrickses and the Curryys are deliberately being tak-

en for the most treacherous political ride of the century?

How can the cause of reform possibly be furthered if the credibility of these accepted leaders of the coloured and Indian communities are constantly undermined by people who ridicule the new constitution?

But perhaps the most preposterous claim is the advice that verligtes should call it a day because of the discrepancy between "verligte rhetoric and the practice of ongoing injustice" in South Africa.

I am the first to agree that injustice and discriminatory practices call for urgent attention and preferably abolition.

But to say "the eyes remain on the verligtes to help eradicate these injustices" surely states the case for verligtheid more convincingly than any verligte could have stated it himself?

Sustained

The simple question remains: what would have happened in South Africa were it not for verligte pressures for reform from within the NP and from moderate and realistic

black leaders?

Would we have seen a Wiehahn report, the normalisation of sport, black trade unions, open hotels, restaurants, universities and a new constitution if it were not for a sustained effort by verligtes over many years?

Professor Degenaar is looking in the right direction when he calls on verligtes to "help eradicate injustices". But why does he not join forces with the people who are trying their utmost to hasten the process of constructive change in this troubled country.

Verligtheid is a strategy that works. The sort of opposition it meets from oorbeligte quarters is probably an indication of a stubborn refusal born of frustration and irritation to give credit where it is due.

I appreciate that his heart is where the hurt is. But we need more than emotional responses if we really are interested in the complete democratisation of this country.

We should also listen to the claims of reason and sense besides those of the heart. The seriousness and potential explosiveness of our problems demand no less.

SOUTH AFRICA

DEBATE ON ENDING APARTHEID CONTINUES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 Dec 84 p 12

[Article by Colin Eglin, MP]

[Text]

PROFESSOR Sampie Terreblanche in the Sunday Times of December 16 1984 calls on the Government to make a firm Declaration of Intent.

He "believes it is time we made a promise to the world to end apartheid".

A commendable concept. But in the professor's appeal is a strong element of irony — and of tragedy for South Africa.

A glance through past pages of the Sunday Times will show that 10 years ago almost to the day the Nationalist Government made the very promise to the world that Professor Terreblanche wants it to make today.

It was in November 1974 that Mr Pik Botha, then 10 years younger than he is today, captured the attention of world leaders and raised the expectations of millions of people both inside and outside South Africa when, before representatives of the international community gathered at the United Nations Security Council, he used these stirring words and gave this solemn undertaking on behalf of the Government.

"We do have discriminatory practices and we do have discriminatory laws.

"But I want to state here today very clearly and categori-

cally: my Government does not condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race or colour.

Solemn

"Discrimination based solely on the colour of a man's skin cannot be defended.

"We shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour."

What has happened to this solemn undertaking over the past 10 years?

Why is it that Professor Terreblanche finds it necessary to call on his Government today to give the same undertaking that it gave 10 years ago?

Of course there have been changes away from apartheid and discrimination over the past 10 years.

Some of these changes have taken place on the initiative of the Government.

Some have taken place in spite of the Government and its restrictive policies.

Others have occurred as the Government has responded slowly and at times reluctantly to the pressure of the evolutionary forces welling up inside the South African society.

Social forces flowing from the inexorable process of urbanisation, economic forces generated by an expanding industrially-based economy, moral forces, educational forces.

The psychological impact of people of various races and colours and working and co-operating together at a thousand and

one points in the infrastructure of the society of that country.

Changes

Yes, there have been changes away from apartheid such as in the fields of sport, and commerce, and industry, and labour relations, and trade unions, and in cultural and welfare and community organisations.

Advances have been made in the field of property rights, and job opportunities and education facilities.

Some of these changes have been peripheral, others have been significant.

Others have been important because of the doors they have opened and for the processes they could set in motion.

But when we have listed all these changes and we then sit back and take a long hard look at the record of Mr Botha's Nationalist Government can we honestly say that over the past 10 years our South African Government has done everything in its power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour?

The reality is that in spite of the changes that have taken place, the essential structure of apartheid still remains.

The fact is that apartheid — call it by another name if you must — eroded in places, looking tattered and shop-soiled in others, remains a cornerstone of the Nationalist Government's political philosophy.

The elements of apartheid persist, not because the Government has not had time to eliminate them, but because they are the cornerstones on which Government policy is based.

Apartheid in the form of the Group Areas Act and the Urban Areas Act are not there simply as legacies from the past.

They are there to give effect to the National Party's declared policy of residential segregation.

Apartheid in the form of enforced removals does not take place simply because of the whim of some Government official.

It takes place because the removal of so-called "black spots" and the consolidation of parts of South Africa into ethnically-based homelands is an integral

part of National Party policy.

Apartheid in the form of separate legislative chambers and separate departments of local government and housing and health and welfare and education are not there as accidents of history.

They were written into the constitution and entrenched in the constitution by the Nationalist Government only a year ago.

The apartheid which excludes black South Africans from any say in the central government of their country is not the result of an oversight on the part of the Government.

Black exclusion from participation in the central government of South Africa is as important a part of present-day Nationalist policy as it was 25 years ago in the days of Dr Verwoerd.

As Professor Terreblanche points out, "the road towards the total dismantling of apartheid is going to be a long and difficult one".

Yes, this is so when one realises that the alternative to apartheid is not refined apartheid, or streamlined apartheid, or "humane" apartheid.

The alternative to apartheid is no apartheid.

Attitude

I agree that it is not going to be easy. It will require a change of attitude as well as a change in legislation.

But if South Africa is going to become the truly great country which I believe it can become then we must start in earnest, not merely eliminating the trappings of apartheid but dismantling the structure of apartheid in our country.

I believe that if Mr Botha's Government made a firm commitment it would evoke a positive response that would lift South Africa to new and exciting heights of development and achievement.

South Africa can do this — but not if we delay for another 10 years.

SOUTH AFRICA

REMOVAL OF BLACK COMMUNITY OF KWANGEMA UNLAWFUL SAYS COURT

Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 23 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Tony Van Der Watt and Peter Wallington]

[Text]

THE threatened removal of the black community of KwaNgema would be unlawful in terms of the South African constitution, an affidavit before the Pretoria Supreme Court claims.

Mr Moses Ngema and the Ngema Committee, of which he is chairman, this week brought an urgent application against the Minister of Co-operation and Development, the Minister of Water Affairs, the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Areas, the Commissioner/Magistrate of Wakkerstroom and Mr Cuthbert Ngema.

Mr Moses Ngema said section 93 of the South African Constitution Act "renders unlawful the current attempts to alienate KwaNgema or to divert it from the purposes for which the land constituting it had been set aside".

Section 93 states that "... no lands which were set aside for the occupation of blacks and which could not at the establishment of the Union of South Africa have been alienated except by an Act of the Legislature of a Colony which became part of the Union of South Africa in terms of the South Africa Act, 1909, shall be alienated or in any way diverted from the purposes for which they were set aside, except under the authority of an Act of Parliament".

Mr Moses Ngema's affidavit said the KwaNgema community "is a settled and relatively prosperous rural community inhabiting land accorded to the community as far back as 1869".

It said that in October, 1869 the Uitvoerende Raad (of the Transvaal) resolved that a farm should be granted to Mr Stuurman Ngema in the Wakkerstroom district. His right to occupy the farm now known as KwaNgema was acknowledged in 1873, although the farm was not transferred into his name.

Ordinance

In terms of a 1903 Ordinance, KwaNgema was reserved in trust for the heirs and successors of the late Stuurman.

In terms of the Letters Patent of 1907 no land which had been set aside for the occupation of blacks could be alienated or in any way diverted from the purposes for which it had been set aside except in accordance with a law passed by the Transvaal legislature.

The affidavit said the effect of this provision was in substance preserved in terms of section 147 of the South Africa Act 1909, and in turn enshrined in the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1961 and in section 93 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983.

Mr Ngema said KwaNgema was described in the Deeds Office as being "unalienated state land".

Mr Ngema and the Ngema Committee applied for a court order interdicting Mr Cuthbert Ngema from acting as chief of the community.

the Minister of Water Affairs from allowing the level of the Heyshope dam to rise, and the respondents from removing the remains of Mr Stuurman Ngema from their grave.

Application was also made to allow the community to hold a meeting to discuss the problems they faced.

Mr Justice HJ Preiss postponed the hearing to February 19, but agreement was reached on a number of points:

Resolution

● The government agreed not to recognise Mr Cuthbert Ngema as the acting chief until the case is resolved.

● The community of KwaNgema were given permission to hold their meeting yesterday. ● The Ngema Committee undertook to let the Minister of Water Affairs know within 14 days all the wishes of the community regarding how, when and where in KwaNgema above the 'purchase line' the graves of Mr Stuurman Ngema and others were to be relocated.

● The Minister of Co-operation and Development agreed to pay the compensation to those people whose households were or had been situated below the 'purchase line' of the Heyshope dam.

The decision of those affected to move above the purchase line of the dam and their acceptance of compensation for their houses below the line were not to be construed as agreement to be resettled in any other place in the Republic or elsewhere.

● The Sunday Express reported on December 2 that Mr Cuthbert Ngema was due to be installed as 'acting chief' of the community that day against the wishes of the Kwangema people.

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKANERS' GROWING ISOLATION REFLECTED IN NEW HISTORIOGRAPHY

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 10-11 Nov 84 pp 10-11

[Commentary by Preben Kaarsholm: "History of Southern Africa in New Light"]

[Text] The exploration of South Africa's history in recent years has developed into a battlefield where a new materialistic and social-historic addition challenges current agreements concerning the genesis of the apartheid society. Some of the front lines of the battle are sketched in today's commentary.

For supporters of the imperialistic movement around the turn of the century, there was no doubt that the history of the world turned on the spread of European civilization to the unenlightened rest of the world. In their English history of 1911, Kipling and Fletcher wrote as follows concerning India: "Our rule has done infinitely much good for all the 300 million residents of different races who inhabit this richly populated country." And concerning Africa: "The natives everywhere welcome our compassionate and just rule."

The assumption of the superiority of the European civilization and the white race has continued its vitality until today--in its most distinctive form, in those portions of the world where colonialism still exists or did so until very recently, while in Europe and the United States it has been pushed somewhat in the background of more technocratic presentations of progress and "modernization." According to established historical science in Rhodesia, it was asserted right up until the fall of the colonial regime in 1980 that the centuries old Great Zimbabwe Ruins were not created by black Africans, but rather by a mystical white culture which had existed at one time in Africa's interior. In South Africa, the white /Afrikaners'/ historiography often has Biblical overtones when it describes the chosen peoples' great /trek/ into the wilderness, while the English speaking tradition has tended toward treating the natives' backwardness as a circumstance which has delayed progress.

In stride with the decolonialization process in portions of southern Africa and with the sharpening of the societal conflicts in South Africa, the necessity for a new understanding of history has presented itself. The new

nation states in the region have had a need to write their own history and the resistance movement in South Africa has needed to map out its own background.

The new historical accounting has been directed toward three areas. First, there has been a movement toward a greater understanding of the dynamics of the most recent period--of capitalism's economic and political development in the region after colonialization. Second, there has been a cultivation of knowledge of the African societies and cultures which existed prior to colonization and of the consequences of the intrusion of colonial power on them. And third, there has been a movement toward an inclusion of the views of oppressed races, classes and groups in the historical accounts which traditionally have concentrated themselves at the "decision makers'" level. An overview of these three problem areas is contained in a two-article series which recently has been published in England: "Economy and Society in South Africa," published by Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore in 1980, and "Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa," published by Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone in 1982.

The background for a new understanding of southern Africa's economic and social history was laid in the beginning of the 1970's in a series of articles by Martin Legassick and Harold Wolpe which discussed the function of violence and racial oppression in the accumulation of capital in the area in the 20th century. Along with F.A. Johnstone's book, "Class, Race and Gold," from 1976, these two articles pointed the way toward a new evaluation of racism and the apartheid system in South Africa. The point was that the separation of the races was not a "coincidental" culturally-collateral by-product of progress, but rather, the basis of it.

The capitalistic industrialization in South Africa had its starting point in the gold mines' "deep-level" production from around 1900, which was dependent partly on extensive investments and partly on the ready availability of cheap untrained labor. This labor force came to consist of migrant workers from South Africa's neighboring countries and from a system of "black" reservations. The South African racism was not a particularly ideologic "perversion" which accompanied the Nationalist Party's takeover of power in 1948, but rather, the determinative condition for the unique capitalistic development in the area. An unbroken continuity existed from the colonial society and the form of government which was established in the beginning of the century to the modern apartheid society and its Bantu policies.

The new addition to southern African economic history which was continued and expanded in articles and books written by, e.g., Colin Bundy, Ian Phimister, Peter Richardson and Stanley Trapido, led to the conclusion that the policy of racial separateness was not an expression of a "backwardness" that would disappear in stride with economic and political "modernization." On the contrary, it was the capitalistic system's unique advance in the area, and a condition for its disappearance would be a radical change of the economic structure of the society itself.

Understanding of the new economic history was theoretically inspired by the structural marxism which was developed by writers such as Althusser and

Poulantzas in France at the end of the 1960's. In conflict with that were the new interpretations of pre-colonial African history, and of the collision between colonial power and African culture having to a greater extent influenced anthropologic history, of new land acquisitions within the history of the farmer society and of modern Gramsci-inspired theories of hegemony.

Among the most important earlier writings on these subjects are Terence Ranger's "Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1897," from 1967, and Shula Marks' "Reluctant Rebellion," from 1970, dealing with the Zulu uprising in 1906-08.

The primary objective of these books was partly to show how extensive a local opposition colonialism rested upon, and partly to rehabilitate the African resistance culture, which in the traditional historical descriptions had appeared as a primitive and irrational reactionism. Ranger's project thus initially was to write the history of the anti-colonial resistance movement in Zimbabwe from 1890 until the war of independence in the 1970's and to show the historic roots of the modern resistance culture.

A series of other works are connected to these descriptions of the African society's fight against colonial oppression, which concentrate on the individual African society's structure and culture in the pre-colonial period, and one must not forget that colonialization in South Africa was an ongoing process throughout the 18th and 19th centuries where the white civilization's "frontier" constantly was being shoved further forward and into areas where previously there had been well-established African tribal empires. Just within the most recent five years, monographs have been published which deal with the history of nearly all the major tribes of South Africa and interpret this from a historic-materialistic basis. This includes Jeff Guy's "The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom," from 1979, J. Peires' book on the Xhosas from 1980, "The House of Phalo," William Beinart's "The Political Economy of Pondoland" and Peter Delius' "The Land Belongs to Us" on the Pedi--both from 1982--and Phil Bonner's "Kings Commoners and Concessionaires," on the Swazi from 1983. An additional monograph on the history of the Tswana society by Kevin Shillington will be published soon.

Were the new conquests within the economic history inspired partly by new European, marxist theories, partly by the radicalization of the political opposition condition in South Africa? A historian such as Harold Wolpe fled in such a fashion from political persecution in South Africa to Europe in the beginning of the 1960's. Was the new development within African history influenced by the acceleration of the South African government's settlement policies from the end of the 1960's, such as has just been explained in a five-volume report from the so-called Surplus People Project, "Forced Removals in South Africa" (1983)? The ideologic justification for forced resettlement of hundreds of thousands of black Africans to the so-called "homelands" such as Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Venda, Bophuthatswana, etcetera, consists of the assertion of helping people return to places which were their natural homes prior to industrialization. The political form of government in the so-called "homelands" also, therefore, is strongly "traditionally" marked by the great influence of chieftains, and the like. But the ethnic naturalness and interdependence which one attempts to impute to the so-called "homelands" are to a

great degree false and a modern construction which has nothing to do with the actual historic past. What the new historiography has been able to unveil thus, among other things, is that the splitting of the "northern" and "southern" Xhosas--which justified the division of Transkei and Ciskei into two supposedly independent states--has no meaning relative to the history of the Xhosas. The people who are being grouped together in the heavily-overpopulated Ciskei are not people with Xhosa background, but a conglomeration of Xhosas, Pondos, Thembus and Mfengus, who are given a forced, common ethnic identity.

An additional motivation behind the new development of African history naturally also has been that the area generally has been neglected by established historiography and in return it has been full of condescending assumptions concerning the backwardness of the pre-colonial African society--assumptions which through the efforts of historical research and teaching and the like have played a role in the ideologic markings of both whites and blacks in southern Africa.

The third area where the understanding of the history of southern Africa has changed dramatically in recent years is social history. While the new interpretation of the area's economic and African history have taken place in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Great Britain, the new social history to a greater extent has been concentrated in South Africa itself. This involves an addition which, to some extent, exists in theoretic opposition to economic historians' structuralistic marxism, and which has allowed itself to become inspired by "culturalistic" historiography, such as has been developed by, e.g., E.P. Thompson and by the History Workshop movement in England. Critical for this development therefore has been an extensive use of "oral history" and material collected through interviews in close cooperation with the population groups whose history is involved.

The main work in the new social history research is, until further, a two-article series by Charles van Onselen, "New Babylon" and "New Nineveh" from 1982, which deals with the social history of Witwatersrand's social history during the period from 1886 to 1914. Diverse information is brought to light concerning the manner in which the development of capitalism influenced, and how it was perceived by, social groups which until now had remained beyond the scope of interest of historical science--prostitutes, impoverished workers, African maids, groups of gangsters, etcetera, and all of this is placed within the overall outline of "the world created by the mine owners"--the capitalistic society which was established in a mad race around Johannesburg after the first discovery of gold occurred in the middle of the 1880's.

The new addition to social history unfolds further in a series of articles by Phil Bonner and Helen Bradford which is based upon interviews portraying the development of the worker movement in South Africa, in articles by Jeff Guy and Motlatsi Thabane on migrant laborers' living conditions in Lesotho and on Basuto groups in Johannesburg's black "townships" in the 1950's, and in Shula Marks' and Deborah Gaitskell's newer works on the history of African women.

In its own way, the powerful growth within the field of historiography concerning southern Africa is an expression of wretchedness: it reflects to a

certain degree the isolation into which white intellectuals have been forced in the recent decades' increasing political oppression in South Africa. Many of the most significant historians thus are South Africans living in exile or in more or less marked academic isolation at home. At this time, the situation is markedly worsened relative to that which, for example, existed in the 1950's when it was possible for white intellectuals to cooperate far more openly with African nationalistic and civil rights movements.

But this is true only to a certain extent. Much of particularly the new social historic research and historic presentation occurs in cooperation with African labor unions such as FOSATSU, and great emphasis is placed on having the material published in a form which is suitable for use in the labor unions' adult education programs, and the like. An example of this is the first volume of a "People's History of South Africa," which Luli Callinicos has published under the title "Gold and Workers 1886-1924," and which summarizes and popularizes some of the most important results of the economic and social historic research.

In any case, the new historiography of southern Africa represents a strength and a richness which will be able to be drawn upon on the day when material things enter the movement and a basis exists for free and democratic development and dealings in the area.

Shula Marks and Jeff Guy in Denmark

Shula Marks and Jeff Guy, who are visiting Denmark during 12-14 November, belong to the most distinguished among the group of South African historians discussed in today's commentary.

Shula Marks was born in South Africa in 1936. She studied history at the University of Cape Town, but emigrated to England in the beginning of the 1960's, where in 1963, she was given a position in the School of Oriental and African Studies. She taught there in African history until 1983 when she was appointed Professor of Commonwealth History and was named director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at London University. She has been editor of "Journal of African History" and "Journal of Southern African Studies." Since the end of the 1960's, she has led a seminar on "The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries," which played a large role in the new departure in historiography which is discussed in the commentary.

Among her publications are the books "Reluctant Rebellion" (1970), "Economy and Society in Preindustrial South Africa" (jointly with A. Atmore, 1980), "Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa" (jointly with R. Rathbone, 1982), "The History of the Family in Africa" (jointly with R. Rathbone, 1983), "Apartheid and Health" (jointly with N. Andersson, 1983) and "The International Movement of Labour" (jointly with P. Richardson, 1984). In addition, she has written a large number of articles and contributions to books on South African history.

Jeff Guy was born in South Africa in 1940. He emigrated to England in 1967, from where he went to National University of Lesotho in 1971 where he has

worked since on southern African history. In addition to countless articles, he has written two books, "The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom" (1979) and "The Heretic. A Study of John William Colenso" (1983). In addition, Jeff Guy has worked among other things at teaching Danish foreign volunteer workers in Lesotho.

Shula Marks' and Jeff Guy's program in Denmark includes the following lectures:

Monday, 12 November at 10 am, Jeff Guy will speak at Copenhagen University on "Unemployment and Casual Labour among Migrant Workers in Lesotho." The same day at 1 pm, Shula Marks also will speak at Copenhagen University on "The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women," both lectures taking place in Auditorium 8 in the main building on Frue Plads. Tuesday, 13 November, the lectures will take place at Roskilde University Center in the Geography Science Hall, when Shula Marks will speak at 10 am on "Recent Developments in the Historiography of South Africa" and Jeff Guy will speak at 1 pm on "Unemployment and Casual Labour among Migrant Workers in Lesotho." Wednesday, 14 November at 10 am, Shula Marks will lecture at Copenhagen University in Auditorium 7 in the main building on Frue Plads on "Recent Developments in the Historiography of South Africa." And finally, Jeff Guy will speak at 1 pm in Auditorium 8 in the main building on Frue Plads on "Oral History in South Africa: An African Perspective on Class, Community and Conflict." The lectures, which are open to all interested persons, are in English and will be followed by discussion.

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CSO: 3613/43

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

MEMBERS OF SEBE FAMILY DETAINED--CISKEI security police added to their list of Sebes in when they detained four more members of the family under their National Security Act last week. Pearl Sebe is the wife of the late Silima Sebe, President Lennox Sebe's brother Maqasana Sebe is their nephew. Mrs Pearl Sebe is the wife of the late Silima Sebe, a brother to President Lennox, exile Namba and convict Charles Sebe. Maqasana Sebe is their nephew. Mrs Sebe's son, Toni, is serving a 10-year jail sentence after his conviction early this year on a charge of terrorism under the Ciskei National Security Act. Others in jail are his two nephews Colin--jailed for 10-years for similar charges--and Khambashe, jailed for 26 years after a shooting incident at Foreign Affairs Minister B N Pityi's house. [By Benito Phillips] [Text] [Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 23 Dec 84 p 1]

200 TRIBESMEN HELD FOLLOWING RIOTS--Umtata, 9 Jan (SAPA)--More than 200 Pondomise tribesmen are being held under the public security act after last month's rioting in Transkei's Tsolo District in which six men, including a tribal chief, were killed. The head of the Transkei security police, Lieutenant-General Leonard Kawe, said: "We are speeding up our investigations and some of the detainees may appear in court this week, failing which on Monday next week." General Kawe said a total of 218 Tsolo Pondomise tribesmen were being detained. The tribal unrest is believed to have been caused by a dispute involving the election of a Pondomise headman. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1100 GMT 9 Jan 85 MB]

CSO: 3400/396

SWAZILAND

ANC CONCERNED OVER FATE OF DETAINEES

MB041216 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1142 GMT 4 Jan 85

[Text] Johannesburg, 4 Jan (SAPA)--The African National Congress [ANC] has denied responsibility for a reported armed ANC raid on a Mbabane Police station this week in which three of their members are said to have been freed.

In a statement published in the Zimbabwe daily, THE HERALD, the banned organization says the three ANC detainees "mysteriously disappeared" from the cells on Wednesday and suggests they were in fact handed over to South Africa.

The issue is further confused by conflicting reports from police officials themselves and newspapers in Swaziland.

Reports yesterday said 15 armed ANC men held up officers at the Mbabane police station and freed three of their comrades and three other detainees who agreed to join their organisation. They were said to have made a get-away in three vehicles and tried in vain to free ANC detainees in other prisons and another police station.

While Swaziland's police commissioner, Mr Majaji Simelane, insisted in a telephone interview with SAPA today that only 2 raiders freed the men, THE STAR newspaper in Johannesburg today quotes police sources as repeating there were 15 raiders.

The ANC statement says the organisation is appealing to the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to intercede with the Swazi Government to ensure that no South African dissidents were handed over to the Pretoria government and to guarantee the safety of ANC members in Swazi police custody.

The statement says the "disappearance" of the three ANC men from the Mbabane police station followed threats by Mr Simelane that all ANC members in Swaziland were to be handed over to South Africa.

"The ANC is gravely concerned at this latest report since there are still four ANC cadres in the hands of the Pretoria regime who vanished under similar circumstances from the Bhunya police station in 1984," the statement says.

In April last year ANC men were reported to have raided the Bhunya police station and freed four of their members. At the time the organisation accused the Swazi Government of staging the abduction and handing the men over to South Africa.

This week's incident follows shortly after the deportation of the ANC political representative in Swaziland, Mr Absalom Duma, and the capture of two ANC members who are reportedly under threat of deportation.

Since Swaziland signed a security pact with South Africa two years ago the ANC has clashed with Swazi police and has been accused of assassinating the deputy security police chief, Superintendent Petros Shiba.

Mr Simelane was reluctant to speak to SAPA today saying there was little point in clarifying reports that had already been published. He described ANC allegations as political and said comment on them should come from the Swazi Department of Foreign Affairs.

Nobody from that ministry was available for comment this morning.

South Africa's office in Swaziland which deals with diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries said there had been no communication between the governments on the raid.

Political observers regard the small kingdom as being torn between maintaining good relations with regional superpower South Africa on the one hand and with the rest of Africa, which wants to provide at least moral support for opponents of apartheid.

The security pact between South Africa and Swaziland is reported to be similar to the Nkomati accord with Mozambique whereby each signatory agrees not to help armed groups committed to undermine security of the other country.

Swaziland appears to follow the sympathetic policy of Zimbabwe, which gives sanctuary only to militarily inactive exiles, but has not been able to round up the remaining armed guerrillas.

Mr Simelane has warned the ANC members to give themselves up or face deportation to South Africa.

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TANZANIA

NYERERE'S PRESIDENCY, POSSIBLE SUCCESSORS EXAMINED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 4 Dec 84 p 6

[Article by Guenter Krabbe: "Nyerere Difficult to Succeed; Socialism between Dogma and Realism"]

[Text] They probably had been tipped off. Security officials in the port of Dar es Salaam opened the container and found arms. It had been shipped in Rotterdam. The certificate of origin--allegedly from Belgium, but more likely from Czechoslovakia--was forged just like the destination address and statement of contents "Mission Supplies." There's a lot of loud talk now in the port about the arms discovery. However, the authorities are keeping silent. Just as they didn't say anything about the most recent four putsch plans they had uncovered and the attempts against the president's life they had foiled. Still, in January, the supreme court in Dar es Salaam is going to try to try 29 alleged conspirators who are accused of attempting, in January 1983, to assassinate the country's president.

All is not quiet in the East African republic of Tanzania, and President Nyerere is by no means uncontroversial. There is opposition against him from the Left who wants to move away from his special kind of socialism towards a more rigorous Marxism-Leninism. But opposition seems to be more serious from those who want to make the system less rigid, and above all, liberalize the economy, at least to the extent that the living standard of the Tanzanians, which has been declining for years, wouldn't keep on going down but improve. In Tanzania, fighting has started among the politicians in government and the unity party over Nyerere's successor. The latter promised again in March of this year that he would not be running in the 1985 presidential elections. Nyerere, now 62 years old, had led the country to independence in 1961 as its prime minister; since 1962, he has been its president. Four years ago, he announced his withdrawal from official state affairs, but then decided to get himself reelected for another term "because of the bad economic situation" and "in order not to abandon the country in this situation."

An amendment to the constitution, currently under discussion in parliament, would limit a president's period in office. In the future, he would be reelected only once, i.e., he would not be in office for more than 10 years. If Nyerere put this constitutional amendment into effect, it would

mean the end for himself as head of government. Economic reforms enunciated by his new prime minister half a year ago--another small devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling, liberalization of all imports of consumer goods paid through private foreign-exchange accounts abroad, discontinuation of the campaign begun last year "against black marketeers and economic saboteurs," resumption of normal, in place of special legislation--are already starting to show a more relaxed supply situation. Although--for a worker earning about 125-250 marks per month--a tube of toothpaste costs the equivalent of 21 marks, one kilo of the least expensive kind of margarine 58 marks, a pair of plastic sandals 215, a bad shirt 250, one piece of laundry soap 38 marks, at least, these things are available; previously, they hadn't been on the market at all for years. To talk of profiteering on the part of importers and traders, that would not be in the interest of the state.

With this small, but noticeable improvement of the economic and social situation, Nyerere could indeed retire. He could then take credit for the fact that things were now better, and his successor could say that the reconstruction following the Nyerere era would still require more time and many sacrifices. However, to retire completely, that's not what Nyerere wants. He wants to stay on as chairman of the unity party. But since, in Tanzania, the party is above the government and issues orders to it, he would really continue to be the boss without also bearing responsibility for the government's affairs as chief of state. Two years ago, President Ahidjo of Cameroon thought along the same lines when he resigned. But then his successor Biya took over the chairmanship of the party as well and had Ahidjo sentenced to death in absentia. This, too,, will play a role in Nyerere's thinking.

The successor-presumptive Sokoine, whom Nyerere himself had chosen for prime minister, lost his life in mid-April. Sokoine had made many enemies. Last year, he had started the campaign against "black marketeers," had been instrumental in having special tribunals impose severe penalties and spread fear; above all, he hadn't only been after "capitalists," but also after functionaries and politicians. He didn't hesitate to uncover--in others--corruption and illegal foreign-exchange dealings. Was that the reason why unknown persons had burned down the central bank with all its files? Is that why Sokoine died? There is still talk in Dar es Salaam about the car accident that preceded the announcement of his death. While Sokoine's chauffeur and the driver of the approaching car suffered only average injuries, the prime minister who was sitting in the undented back of his official Mercedes, protected by a crumple zone, is supposed to have lost his life? While an abduction was not made, contrary to what was announced at first and is legally required, one rumor has it that the body showed a bullet wound.

To everybody's surprise, it took Nyerere only a few days to produce a new prime minister. Nobody had expected career diplomat and Foreign Minister Ahmed Salim to get the job. But is he going to become president? He comes from Zanzibar. The constitution requires that the president and

first vice president must come from different parts of the country. If the president comes from the mainland, then the vice president must come from the island, and vice versa. Nyerere is from the mainland, Salim from Zanzibar. Should Salim become president, his first vice president would have to come from the mainland. However, Tanzania's vice president is also the president of Zanzibar. Hence, this does not go together because the people of Zanzibar will not accept a mainland president of the island. Thus, Salim could not become president of the country--unless the constitution is changed again, maybe even by force and in a way that Zanzibar disassociates itself from the mainland and reclaims the sovereignty it renounced in 1964? This is a likely, but not the only solution.

It is futile to ask about other candidates in Dar es Salaam. Occasionally, there is mention of General Luhanga or of another war hero from the campaign to oust Ugandan despot Idi Amin five years ago. There is also talk of Finance Minister Msuya, who is considered a representative of a moderate course that doesn't absolutely stick to the socialist dogma, as well as of Minister for Planning and Economics Malina, who belongs to the opposite movement.

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